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and the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

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WILLIAM ROBERT SHEPHERD
1871-1934

Frontispiece to The Open Court

THE OPEN COURT

Volume XLVIII (No. 4) October, 1934

Number 931

WILLIAM ROBERT SHEPHERD

BY CYRUS H. PEAKE

THE PASSING of Professor William Robert Shepherd in Berlin on June 7th will remain a source of deep regret to all concerned in promoting a better understanding of Oriental peoples and their civilizations among Occidentals. No group will sense this loss more deeply than the friends and members of the New Orient Society of America. He gave to the Society generously of his inspiring leadership and wise counsel as President of the New Orient Society of America.

Professor Shepherd at the time of his death was not quite 63 years of age having been born at Charlestown, South Carolina June 12, 1871. For the greater part of his life he was associated with Columbia University where after finishing his undergraduate work in 1893, he obtained his Master's degree in 1894 and his Ph. D. in 1896. During the remaining thirty-eight years of his life he taught history at that institution. He studied in Berlin and Madrid and later was an honorary professor of the University of Chile. Widely known and highly respected in European centers of learning, he made an extended tour of Europe after the war in the course of which he lectured at the Universities of Madrid, Cambridge, London, Manchester, Durham, Edinburgh, Berlin, and Vienna. Two addresses before the University of Berlin were the first given by an American professor in Berlin after the World War. He was also first American visiting professor at Vienna in 1924. He was proud to be able to help rebuild the bridge of friendship between German and American scholarship. Two years ago he was appointed visiting Carnegie Professor at the University of Vienna, where he lectured on the influence of American institutions on the life and thought of Europe. While there he received Austria's highest decoration, the gold medal of honor for services rendered that country. Honor-

ary degrees conferred upon him were as follows: Litt. D., Columbia, 1929; L.H.D., Chile, 1910; L.L.D., South Carolina, 1930; Hon. D., Madrid, 1934.

He lived to become internationally known as an historian of Latin-American nations and of the overseas expansion of Europe. He lectured in both fields at Columbia for many years. Hundreds of students who attended his courses caught from him a conception of world history which encompassed all races and cultures. The inspiration which flowed from his profound scholarship led scores of young scholars to till rich fields of research which he for the first time opened up to them. He provided them with tools and trained them rigorously in the critical methods of historical research as developed in the German Seminars.

His research in Latin American history did much to place this field of study on a scientific basis and helped to promote a deeper and more sympathetic understanding of Hispanic America. His writings in this field were many and varied, such as *Central and South America* (1914) and *Latin America* (1914)—both in the Home University Library of Modern Knowledge; *The Hispanic Nations of the New World; A Chronicle of our Southern Neighbors* (1919) in the Chronicles of America Series. Extending over a period of a quarter of a century he published in addition numerous articles. A bibliography of all his writings to 1930 will be found in "A Bibliography of the Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University, 1880-1930," Columbia University Press, 1931.

In connection with his work in this field he was appointed U.S. Delegate to the First Pan-American Scientific Congress held in Santiago, Chile, 1908-1909; Secretary, U.S. Delegation to the Fourth International Conference of American States, Buenos Aires, 1910; Member of Colombia Group Committee, Pan-American Financial Conference, 1915, 1920; Honorary Member, Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, Washington, 1915; Commendador con Placa, Real Orden de Isabel la Católica; Member of the Hispanic Society of America; Corresponding Member, Spanish Royal Academy of History and Geographical Society, Argentine Scientific Society; National Academy of History of Venezuela and the Academy of History of Cuba. In 1927 he was the leader of the round table discussion on Latin-American policies at the Williamstown Institute of Politics.

It was in his researches and lectures in the field of the expansion of European civilization that his interest in Oriental peoples and their cultures took its rise and found its mature expression. His emphasis in this field was unique. The "outward" movement of Europe, its expanding, conquering and colonizing activities he set forth in clear and forceful fashion. But his emphasis was ever upon the "homeward" movement, as he was wont to call it, that is the effect upon Europe in all fields of human activity of this contact with other lands, strange peoples and alien cultures with their varying philosophies, enriching products, inspiring arts and literatures. The result was the awakening in the minds of his students particularly of a new conception of world history and a deeper and more profound respect for Oriental civilizations. Many of them under his guidance took up special studies in this undeveloped field.

Professor Shepherd's publications in this field are but a fraction of the whole of his researches. These include an article in the March, June, and September 1919 issues of the *Political Science Quarterly* called "The Expansion of Europe" and a series of articles published under the general title "The Interaction of Europe and Asia" published in *World Unity* for December, 1927 and January, February, March, April and May 1928. His lecture notes still lie unpublished and it is earnestly hoped that eventually they will find their way into print.

His interest in the New Orient Society sprang from his scholarly studies as well as from a life-long desire to see arise among the various racial and cultural groupings of mankind a régime of mutual understanding and respect which will result in the elimination of international strife. In his Presidential address read at the Annual Meeting in Chicago, January 20, 1934, he forcibly and clearly set forth the means by which the New Orient Society may achieve the purpose for which it has been founded. May the New Orient Society bring to fruition the program which he therein set forth and carry on as he said, "In the fervent belief. . . that out of the East comes light which will continue to illumine the pathway of West and East toward mutuality of good will. . ."

RANDOM THOUGHTS OF THE PROFESSOR

BY S. L. JOSHI

NO ONE can survey the present-day situation throughout the world in all fields of thought and activity without realizing the grim fact that we are witnessing the disappearance of cherished traditions, principles of thought, and well-established institutions, and there is a growing vacuum created in the debris of the past, challenging human intelligence to fill that vacuum with fresh creative effort in thought and action. It is being felt everywhere that the whole future of civilization will be largely determined by the amount of intelligence and foresight with which definite plans will be made to shape the destiny of all nations.

Throughout the nineteenth century western nations were busily engaged in imposing their views of life, their cultures, and their schemes of thought upon the more ancient peoples of the Asiatic Continent. There was also the effort to make a critical study of the cultural treasures of Asiatic nations in order to add to the sum total of human knowledge and to create a world-view of human progress as a whole. Human achievements in the field of modern science gave man a certain degree of self-confidence in his capacity to control the forces of nature, and whereas in the pre-scientific ages man either surrendered completely to his physical environment or carried on a feeble struggle against hostile natural forces, modern man with the powerful weapon of scientific knowledge has definitely shown himself capable of transforming unfavorable environments and adapting them to his plans and purposes. Wherever he has not fully succeeded in this effort, he has learned to adapt himself to those elements in the environment which have been known to be opposed to his interests. The nations of Asia have admired the growing capacity of western man to transform his environment, and have steadily attempted to be initiated into the knowledge of the modern sciences in order that they too may become masters of their environment.

Of all Oriental nations, Japan has led the way to demonstrate what great possibilities lie in store for all Asiatics who would be willing to assimilate scientific knowledge and apply it intelligently in fighting climatic and other physical conditions which have in the centuries of the past been responsible for the alarming poverty, ignor-

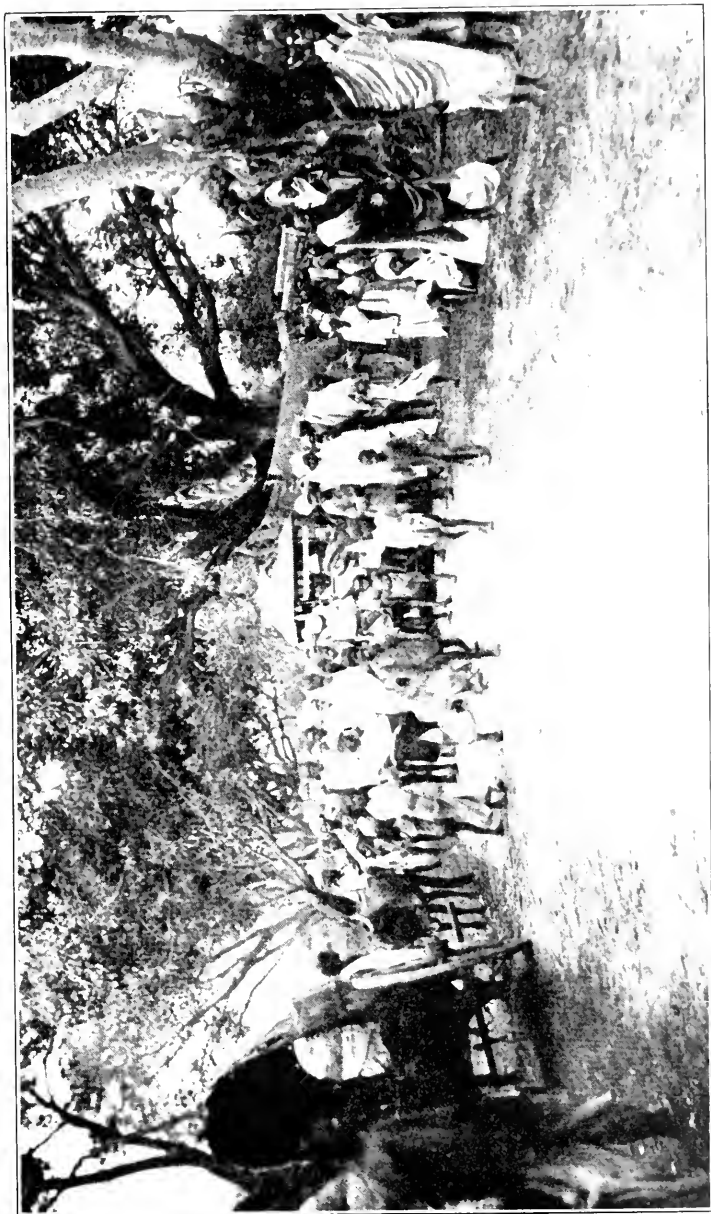
ance, and disease which one can witness throughout the East. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century there were definite movements organized in India, China, and Japan for the purpose of sending picked young men to the universities of Europe and America, specifically for the obtaining of scientific knowledge which was regarded as essential for the conquest of the three great enemies of mankind,—poverty, ignorance, and disease.

Meanwhile, other problems were created in the relations between western nations and the peoples of Asia. These problems were particularly acute in those fields which affect man's physical existence. The growth of modern imperialism in western Europe was essentially directed towards the exploitation of the weaker races of mankind through channels supplied by modern scientific knowledge. The raw materials available in the vast sub-continent of Asia were needed for sustaining the new industrial organizations of the western world, and these were transformed into finished goods and sent back to the great markets of Asia. The rise of modern capitalism owes a great deal of its vigor to this commercial relationship between the West and the East. Capitalism also began to clash with the interests of the working classes in the western world, and the class struggle which we are witnessing in the West today is merely another phase of the great economic conflict whereby modern industrialism has succeeded in destroying the handicrafts of millions of Asiatics and turning them into mere customers for western goods.

Much has been written by competent scholars upon the subject of the influence of the West on the civilizations of eastern nations, not only in the field of economics, but also in the field of thought. It is noticeable that several modern writers have been devoting their attention to the influence exerted by eastern thought on western minds. There has been, therefore, considerable give and take between the two halves of the human race. It is curious, however, that while on the one hand scientific improvements in land and sea transportation have tended to annihilate time and distance, making the whole world a great neighborhood, there has been a corresponding growth of misunderstandings created by ill-informed men and women towards a clearer evaluation of social facts in different parts of the world. The newspaper press, both in Europe and in America, has not always indicated a spirit of fairness in interpreting the trend of modern events in the Orient. When to this we add the growing volume of

political propaganda carried on in the United States by various nations with the specific object of misleading the reading public, it can be seen easily why these misunderstandings have been on the increase. The Christian churches, primarily interested in the propagation of their particular brand of Christianity in Asiatic lands, have often been the sole sources of information through missionary reports regarding life and thought among the Oriental nations. They have hardly ever shown a tendency to credit eastern nations with virtues and merits which can be favorably compared with those of Christianity. The missionary literature of the past fifty years in America contains an immense mass of material which, if critically examined in the light of modern knowledge, would seem to indicate an unintended tendency on the part of the Christian to bear a false witness against his non-Christian brother. The advocacy of special causes, however significant in themselves, must always be subordinated to the claims of truth, and human facts should be ascertained, classified, and examined with a passionate disinterestedness in order to arrive at sane conclusions. The report of the Laymen's Commission which was sent to the Orient not long ago contains a great many radical suggestions towards a reconstruction of the Christian missionary policy in dealing with non-Christian religions and their followers. It is, however, disconcerting to note that many of these recommendations have been practically shelved by missionary organizations, and no adequate action has yet been taken in this direction.

It is refreshing to turn from the economist, the politician, and the churches towards the universities and colleges of the western world. The great educational foundations of America have been steadily rendering the most effective service towards the solution of the problems of poverty, ignorance, and disease. The universities of America have never been so handicapped by tradition as the universities of the Old World, and the American mind, with its vigor and initiative, has constantly shown a desire and a readiness to try daring experiments in the field of education. While on the one hand the American government by passing the Asiatic Exclusion Act has definitely closed its doors against the citizens of India, China, and Japan, the American universities and colleges have steadily shown a growing interest in extending their hospitality to Oriental students and professors, with an intense desire to broaden opportunities for



Photograph by Walter E. Clark

A VILLAGE SCENE IN INDIA

a thorough-going knowledge of the cultures of Asia so that the rising generation of America may have better opportunities to acquaint themselves with the basic cultural ideals of eastern races. The Rockefeller Foundation has been spending millions of dollars year after year in medical research carried on primarily for the conquest of disease—especially those diseases which have shown a definite tendency to sap the life-blood of tropical races.

The Oriental student in America who has made a careful observation of American life and has acquired self-confidence and initiative in dealing with the practical problems of life, is always better equipped to deal with the problems of poverty and disease in the Orient than his comrades in his own land. He begins to dream Utopian dreams for the transformation of the physical environment in his own land and is fired with a fresh enthusiasm which works as a driving force to enable him to realize, after hard and faithful labor in however small a measure, some degree of success in setting back the advance of poverty, ignorance, and disease.

The main task of civilization is to raise the level of individual intelligence and character so as to make possible the formation of better organized social groups and to organize society in such a way as to call forth the finer qualities from the character of its citizens. No one can dispute that this task is seriously interrupted by war, whereas it is actively promoted by education of all kinds. This explains why the American people are naturally averse to indulging in the luxury of warfare and why they place the foremost emphasis on education as the one key to achieve the main goal of civilization. Sir Michael Sadler has well described the public school as the established church of America.

On the one hand, all the nations of the world are being confronted by problems which have a striking similarity. On the other hand, it is beginning to be realized more and more in all parts of the civilized world that it is only with the help of the right type of education that we can prepare the youth of today to meet successfully the problems of tomorrow. This would seem to indicate that by the very nature of the case, colleges and universities in all countries would tend more and more to pursue various methods and evolve various types of education primarily intended to achieve the supreme task of civilization. We are told that in England higher education has been framed for the purpose of producing a true gentleman. In

Germany it is the ideal scientific expert who is regarded as the goal of higher education. In America the stress is primarily laid on the formation of the ideal citizen. It is hardly possible to detach these three aims in a clear-cut way. It is by harmonious combination of all of them that the main end of civilization will be realized.

The recent World War furnished a great handle for the growth of a strong conviction among younger men that youth could no longer place implicit faith in the wisdom of the fathers. There is a world-wide revolt of youth against established institutions, older modes of thought, and traditional morality. Organized religion everywhere is also losing its hold on the minds of young men. The growth of the new scientific movement has produced abundant material to uphold the claims of the naturalistic as against the idealistic philosophy of life. This struggle between naturalism and idealism assumes new forms from time to time, but it is the central conflict staged in the theater of modern thought. The conflict between so-called humanism and theism is only another aspect of the same central struggle. The gospel of individualism has been carried to extravagant limits among modern democracies and has profoundly affected the bonds of the family life. While medical and surgical science on the one hand has steadily prolonged the average life of man in the western world, new forces of destruction have added to the uncertainty of life. The high-pressure life of a highly industrialized society is characterized by new types of disease, and there is an alarming growth of insanity in the western world. The abnormal growth of crime in modern cities has always been a challenge to the intelligence of those in power in city, state, and federal governments.

The late Professor Giddings of Columbia University used to remind his students that the main problems of civilization can be grouped around three questions:

1. Whether some races are inherently superior to other races.
2. Whether any one religion is superior to all other religions.
3. Whether man is superior to woman.

America has had no trouble in solving the third question with a vengeance, so that the problem there is completely inverted and amounts to whether man has any chance to claim equality with woman. The other two questions, revolving around race and religion, have produced a volume of pseudo-scientific literature and have added to the mental confusion already existing in the world. Islam,

more than Christianity, has demonstrated a unique capacity to deal with the race problem. The conclusions of ethnology are still far from final on this important subject. The discovery of the religious literatures of the world has made it possible for modern scholars to make a comparative study of the merits of various religions. In making such comparisons, it must be borne in mind that religious systems are like great works of art, each having its own merits and weaknesses, and, therefore, they cannot be compared in their entirety.

The colleges and universities of the civilized world have felt the necessity of intellectual cooperation, because they all are engaged in finding solutions for identical problems. They must primarily seek to enlarge the intellectual horizon of the student until opportunities are provided for obtaining a world-view of all cultures and civilizations. They must also help in building a bridge between modern industrialism and culture, and strive to broaden the interest of the student in world problems which transcend all forms of nationalism. The whole conception of what constitutes true success in life should be exalted, so that the mere making of money may come to be regarded only as a means and not as an end in itself. In a democratic society there should be clear conceptions of the dimensions of individual liberty, and a clear distinction made between wisdom and knowledge, as well as between pleasure and happiness. The problem of the right utilization of leisure will also continue to engage the thought of leading educators throughout the world. The difference between knowledge and wisdom is essentially implied in the distinction between scientific pursuits and spiritual ideals. It should be the task of the educator to build a bridge between the two, so that man may realize the importance of studying not only the relative value of things, but synthesizing them with a passionate love for those universal values which ultimately give meaning and significance to life.

THE TENACITY OF INDIGENOUS CULTURE

BY WILFRID D. HAMBLEY

Field Museum of Natural History Chicago

THE following account of the elements of indigenous culture that are now functioning in the tribal life of the Ovimbundu of Angola, is based on observations made during the Frederick H. Rawson-Field Museum Expedition of 1929-30.

The Ovimbundu (People of the Fog) whose name perhaps refers to the mists of the Benguela Highlands, occupy extensive regions, where the plateau in places attains a height of 5000 feet. The heat of the tropics has therefore been modified by altitude, and since the plateau arrests moisture from the northeast winds, the rainfall of the wet season is ample in the period September to April.

Cultivation of maize, to an extent far exceeding that which is usual in forest clearings, has been made possible by the open nature of the country, most of which is also favorable for the raising of cattle. Contacts with south Angola, where the Vakwanyama own large herds of long-horned cattle, have resulted in an extension of this pastoral culture to the Ovimbundu, in modified degree.

In addition to an agricultural system which is economically basic, and a pastoral culture that is supplementary, hunting and collecting of wild vegetable products are important activities. But the long distance caravan trade for which the Ovimbundu were once famous through the breadth of Africa has disappeared.

Following the early coastal exploration of Diogo Cão and Bartholomew Diaz,¹ the Portuguese gradually established themselves on the littoral, where Paolo Diaz founded Loanda in 1576. In part by trade, but largely in connection with punitive expeditions the Portuguese penetrated the interior, where they carried on a desultory warfare with the predatory Jaggas who held Andrew Battell in captivity.² And to Battell's account, which was recorded by Samuel Purchase, ethnologists are indebted for a knowledge of the anthropological background of northern Angola about the year 1600.

By 1645 the Portuguese had reached Bailundu, and Caconda in

¹Ravenstein E. G., "The Voyages of Diogo Cão and Bartholomew Diaz (1482-1488)", *Geographical Journal*, 1900, pp. 625-649.

²*The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell, Purchase, His Pilgrims*, Hakluyt Society's Publication, London, 1901.

the west-central region was established in 1682.³ Mossamedes was founded about a century later, and from this site as a base expeditions set out to explore the Cunene.⁴ Meanwhile, Portuguese enterprise along the River Congo had resulted in the establishment of catholic missions and powerful political liaisons with native chiefs. The history of the Portuguese in Angola is intimately connected with the dominance of the Kingdom of Kongo⁵ and later the establishment of the rival Kingdom of Lunda.⁶

European contacts, therefore, have extended over three centuries, and the object of this article is to point out the nature of the cultural traits of the Ovimbundu, that have survived the foreign impact and are still functioning. These elements of indigenous culture have persisted despite a somewhat direct form of administration, exacting labor laws, and an encouragement of European language, dress, and the use of imported articles to the detriment of native products.

The most important surviving traits of native culture may be conveniently summarized under the headings of economic life, social life, language, and religion. But such divisions, though convenient for ethnologists, have no actual counterparts in tribal life. Native thought processes, as I will endeavor to illustrate, connect the various activities so intimately that European categories are misleading.

When considering the economic life of the Ovimbundu, the main points to keep in mind are division of labor according to age, sex, and natural aptitude. The occurrence of ritual in connection with occupation, and the effects of contact between the indigenous and the European systems of trade and handicraft, are also important.

Fundamental to economic life is an extensive nature lore which has given a large vocabulary of Umbundu words describing all forms of plant and animal life in great detail. Timbers are carefully distinguished and the qualities of each are known; thus there are woods suitable for small carvings of figurines, ornamental staffs, and clubs. The woods most adapted for bow-staves are known. Certain tim-

³Burton, R. F., *The Lands of Cazembe. An Account of Lacerda's Journey to Cazemba* (with notes on other explorations) London 1873.

⁴Bowditch, T. E. *An Account of the Discoveries of the Portuguese in the Interior of Angola and Mozambique*, London, 1824.

⁵Lewis, T. *Geographical Journal*, 1908, pp. 598-600.

⁶Torday, E. "The Influence of the Kingdom of Kongo on Central Africa," *Africa*, I, 1928, pp. 157-169.

bers make the best charcoal, and other woods are said to be resistant to termites.

Birds are particularly well known, and from early years boys shoot them with blunt wooden arrows. Three birds are of ritual



Courtesy of Field Museum of Natural History

FISHERMAN IN BARK CANOE
Vachokue Tribe

significance. *Esuvi* flies by night and catches spirits of the dead, so making them die a second death, after which they no longer influence the lives of the living. *Onjinbi* is also a nocturnal bird, respected because it gives warning of death by a peculiar cry. *Onduva* is not

shot unless the feathers are required for decorating a king or a medicine-man. Bird cries are translated into Umbundu in such a way as to show that the Ovimbundu regard birds as a community having the thoughts and feelings of human beings.

The occupation of hunting provides an apt example of the survival of ritual connected with the training and daily work of *ukongo*, the professional hunter. After a novitiate of two years under the instruction of a hunter, a candidate is inaugurated at a feast, where a series of dances is given by hunters only. During life a hunter uses a special set of cooking pots. He anoints the bows of his ancestors with maize beer and palm oil the night before setting out. He may not have relations with his wife the night before the hunt, and immediately before starting he bathes his eyes with a preparation of herbs which give keen vision. At death a hunter is buried in a rock tomb at the crest of a hill. Muzzle-loading guns may be seen, but they are not numerous since the Portuguese have a prohibition against use of powder by natives. Therefore, the bow and arrow is the chief weapon, and with the survival of these implements has persisted the ritual with which they were anciently associated. In addition to the activities of the professional hunter there is a communal hunt in which women and children may take part by burning the grass and driving game, but no ritual is associated with this occupation.

Fishing has a division of labor, since various methods are thought to be suitable for women only, while other procedures are followed by men. Women drag baskets against the current and use poison when the streams are shallow. Men fish with a baited bark line, and seek good luck by chanting, "O fish come and taste the good thing. Do not send the little fish to spoil the good thing. But come and take this good thing with all your strength." Cohabitation of the sexes the night before fishing is said to make the fish stay together at the bottom of the river.

In connection with agriculture no ritual was discovered. Women cultivate with short-handled hoes after the ground has been cleared by men, and among the chief crops are maize, beans, sweet potatoes, and several kinds of manioc. Open highland country has favored the development of large fields that supply crops, among which maize and beans are the most useful for domestic consumption, trade with Portuguese stores, and the payment of taxes.

The chief domestic animals are cattle, sheep, pigs, goats, and



Courtesy of Field Museum of Natural History

WOMEN FISHING

Nachokue Tribe, East Angola

poultry. But the Ovimbundu have principally a vegetable diet, as they have no system of animal husbandry which breeds animals so as to give a supply of meat and milk. In some districts cows are milked, but this is due to Portuguese influence. Cattle are not killed for food, but oxen are used as payment for fines, as a criterion of wealth, as wedding gifts, and for sacrifice at funeral feasts. Horns of beasts so sacrificed are mounted on poles over graves, and in event of a king's death, the body is wrapped in ox-hide, while mourners wear bracelets of the same material. Cattle are herded by men, never by women, and in all important points the Ovimbundu follow the usages of a typical, southwest African, pastoral culture, except in the avoidance of milk. Some Portuguese use oxen for riding purposes, but I have seen only one Ovimbundu mounted in this way.

Decline of the long-distance caravan trade in quest of slaves and ivory has diminished the production of tobacco and beeswax. Tobacco is still cultivated by women who plant out the seedlings on mounds in cornfields, and women, as well as men, smoke tobacco. But the rolls and hanks of tobacco are now kept for personal use. Hives made from cylinders of bark are placed in trees. Honey is eaten with manioc and used in making one kind of maize beer, but the balls of wax, which used to be of standard exchange value, are now taken to traders' stores, sold there, and pounded into large rectangular cakes for export.

With disappearance of the caravan trade has lapsed the custom of bringing out the preserved head of a king, wrapped in ox-hide, and consulting it with regard to the journey. But the figurines used by a medicine-man for divining the right path are still obtainable. A figure of this kind represents a woman wearing a tuft of black feathers on her head, and the name *njete* survives. Large horns of antelope were formerly filled with a mixture of fat and charcoal which gave off fumes when the horns were placed upright near camp fires. The fumes were believed to protect a caravan against deprivations of thieves and lions. Horns of this kind were obtained at Bailundu, which was at one time an important starting point of caravans. Among older men who were acquainted with the caravan trade, and among present day hunters, names of many stars are well known.

In industrial life, the upright loom worked by men is rare, but cotton spinning to provide thread for repairing imported cloth may

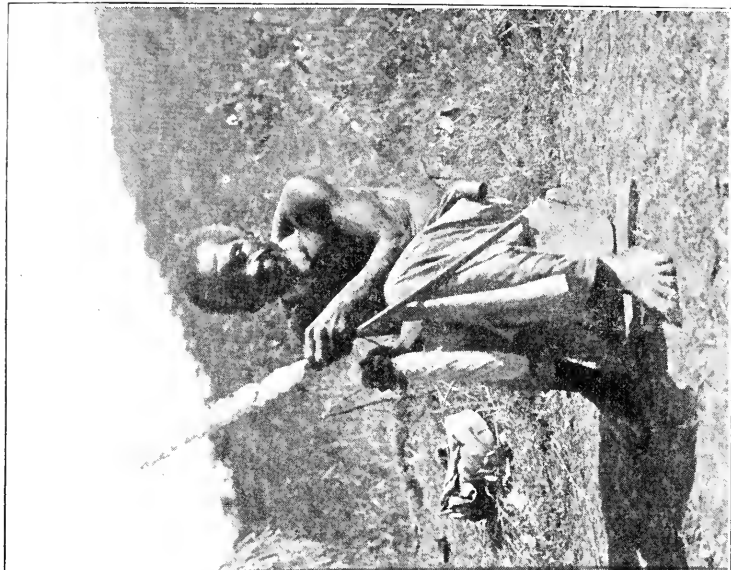
be observed. Only men make mats, and for each type of mat specialists have to be found. Only women weave baskets, in which craft many are expert, especially in the making of dyes of soft tone from vegetable sources. But crude dyes are now imported, and even old typewriter ribbons are made to yield coloring matter.

Women are the potters, but no ritual was recorded, except an act of consecrating the clay pit with the blood of a chicken killed by a medicine-man. The surface of a rock, which is used as a base for pounding corn, is consecrated in the same way.

Only males are wood carvers, and these specialize in making domestic utensils, figurines, or drums. In house building, division of labor may be observed. Men gather the wood and trim the poles. In fact males are responsible for all stages of the work, including the digging of foundations, plastering walls, and laying the thatch; but women carry water to the clay pit where children puddle the clay with their feet.

Smelting of iron was not observed, though the ancient sites of mining were pointed out. Use of imported hoe blades and knives militates against the native industry, but many blacksmiths are still to be seen melting and forging scrap iron into spear and arrow heads, hoes, knives and even saw blades in imitation of European examples. Ancient ritual, which is still associated with the blacksmith's craft in many Negro tribes, is observed among the Ovimbundu today. After serving an apprenticeship of two years an inaugural ceremony is arranged. The candidate stands on the stone anvil. The master blacksmith, who has made a set of tools for his pupil, completes the large hammer at this ceremony. Then, while the hammer is hot it is thrust into the belly of a dog. Other animals are killed and the blood is sprinkled on the tools with which the novice must never part. The novice steps from the anvil, takes a new name, and begins work independently as a master blacksmith.

The administrative organization of the Ovimbundu consists now, as formerly, of a number of local units each ruled by an *osoma*, or king, who occupies the *ombala*, a name given to the capital village. In each of these main units is a number of villages each ruled by a village headman called *sekulu*, whose decisions are subject to the king's veto. But Portuguese authority is supreme, and the powers of the *sekulu* and the *osoma* are greatly curtailed. According to my interpreter men who have submitted their litigation to the village headman appeal to the king if dissatisfied with the decision of the



WOMAN POUNDING MAIZE
COTTON SPINNER
Ovimbundu, Angola

Courtesy of Field Museum of Natural History

village chief. But if the king also makes an unfavorable decision the disappointed litigant turns to Portuguese authority. In earlier times village headmen and kings had complete jurisdiction, and the sentences passed on adulterers, murderers, and thieves were carried out by a specially appointed messenger of the king.

Courtship, marriage, and divorce proceed without interference from European authority. Premarital friendships exist between boys and girls, who meet and spend the night at the house of one of the girls. But sexual intercourse is forbidden and pregnancy is a disgrace. A girl calls her young male companion *ombiasi*, and he gives her the same name. A boy who desires a certain girl offers small presents to her parents; these gifts are tokens only, but before the marriage more valuable presents are made.

The ritual of marriage is too detailed to follow here, but one of the most important acts is the entry of three elderly women into the new home. Here they lay the hearth stones and for three days superintend the cooking; the hands of the young bride are guided even in such small operations as stirring the vegetable mush. The demand for virginity in a bride is not so insistent as it used to be, but in earlier times a husband who mistrusted his bride's virginity bored a hole in her loin cloth with a firestick and sent her back to her parents. The separation was not necessarily permanent, and the girl usually returned to her husband bringing some part of the gifts, which were returned as a compensation. The evidence indicates that the husband was well satisfied with this arrangement.

Divorce laws are more favorable to men than to women, since a man may divorce his wife for a great number of reasons, including too much scolding, bad cooking, incompetence in gardening, and barrenness. One of the grounds on which a woman may secure divorce is failure of the husband to provide necessary cloth, trinkets, and palm oil. Parents of a girl are anxious to avoid divorce, and reconciliation by family intervention is usual. But if divorce is arranged the final rite has to be performed in public in the presence of the *sekulu*. As an act of repudiation the husband slaps the back of his divorced wife, saying "It is finished."

Many prohibitions and injunctions relating to pregnancy and delivery were recorded, and the old usages pertaining to naming were found to function. Twins and posthumous children have distinguishing names. A child born after twins has a name meaning "to push," and the name of a sick child is changed to some ugly term

which is supposed to bring better health. A father changes his name at the birth of a first child, he becomes the father of so-and-so.

The Ovimbundu still preserve their kinship terms and a functioning system of relationship of the classificatory type. The term *mai* (mother) is applied to the mother's sisters who use the word *omolange* (my child) as a reciprocal. *Tate* describes a father and his brothers, who use the reciprocal *omolange*. Marriage of a man with a daughter of his mother's sister or of his father's brother is forbidden, since this would make the groom *ocinyama* (like an animal). The term *nawa* is given to all in-laws of the speakers own generation, while *ndatambo* describes in-laws of the generation older and younger than the speaker. The enjoined marriage is one between children of a brother and a sister, and the most favored union for a man is marriage with the daughter of his mother's eldest brother, who is called *manu*. *Manu* not only provides daughters for marriage with his sister's sons, but he pays fines for delinquent children of his sister. In reciprocation *manu* can claim the services of his sister's children who may have to work to pay his debts. This pawning still functions.

The home is effective as an educational institution. Here children are taught not to steal, and the thieving hand is held for a moment in the steam of the cooking pot. Correct salutations are carefully taught. Spittle must be covered, and expectoration near the house of a king or headman is punishable by a fine. *Ohembi*, a liar, is despised; so also is a greedy man. *Ekandu* describes any act which is disagreeable to other people. To send a stranger on the wrong path is *ekandu*. Willfully causing pain to an animal is *ekandu*, and the same term is applied to fornication with a wife's sister. The term *ekandu*, judging from the examples given by natives, has a wide connotation.

Initiation rites are either decadent or defunct among the Ovimbundu, but a reinvasion of the circumcision ceremony with its accompanying seclusion and ritual, is taking place along a central marginal line, where the Ovimbundu are in contact with the Vanyemba, the Vangangella, and the Vachokue.

Music, games, singing, and dancing function as actively as in earlier years, though some of the songs and dances are known only to old people. But a village dance is the usual amusement, and in addition to this are ritual dances for performance at funerals. Special terms are applied to a leader of a chorus, to a principal dancer,

and to each expert player of a musical instrument. Men are the only performers on musical instruments, and a high degree of specialization is observed. Thus the player of the flat wooden drum is



Courtesy of Field Museum of Natural History

LUVANDO GIRLS
Southwest Angola

not a performer on the tubular drum, and possibly not more than two or three men in a village are regarded as capable performers on the well-known instrument consisting of metal keys on a sounding board.

The Umbundu language, although adulterated with Portuguese words in some localities, is remarkably well preserved, and the older

people take a pride in its preservation, for they correct linguistic errors of their children, and make careful explanations to a European who wishes to learn. Umbundu is typically Bantu in grammar and syntax, with high, middle, and low tones, and a few semantic words; these as the term implies depend on tone for meaning. Structure of a language, and not vocabulary, is a desirable basis for comparisons, but so far as vocabularies are reliable for comparative purposes, Umbundu approximates most closely to Ukuanyama. But one must remember that the Ovimbundu have, in their capacity as caravan traders, spread their vocabulary far and wide. I am not satisfied that sufficient linguistic data are available for detailed comparative study of Umbundu with all other languages of Angola, but in this connection the works of P. H. Brincker,⁷ F. and W. Jaspert,⁸ C. Meinhof,⁹ Sir H. H. Johnston,¹⁰ and A. Johnson¹¹ are useful.

Umbundu is rich in folklore stories with a great preponderance of the humorous type of tale describing the adventures of animals. Some of the stories are explanatory, as for example, "Why the Bat Flies at Night," and others are didactic, with an obvious moral deprecating greed, cowardice, and low cunning, while enjoining the opposites of these traits. But historical mythology plays a small part in the spoken literature and has little, if any, influence in the lives of the people.

Riddles are asked, and proverbs are frequently quoted in an apocryphal way. Thus, when a garrulous man continually boasts, someone says "Hot water will not burn a house," and the probable detection of crime is referred to by saying "You cannot wrap a buck's head in a cloth, the horns will stick out." Among commoners, inheritance, descent, and succession usually follow the female line, but in the royal family kingship descends to the oldest son of the principal wife. If this youth is foolish another son is elected, yet the stupid man may succeed through influence; then people say "A turtle cannot climb on a tree stump, someone has to put it there."

In religious belief Suku, Nyambe, and Kalunga are exalted be-

⁷*Lehrbuch des Oshikwanyama, Bantu-sprache in Deutsch, S. W. Afrika*, Berlin, 1891.

⁸*Die Völkerstämme Mittel-Angolas*, Frankfurt, 1930.

⁹*Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantu Sprachen*, Berlin, 1906, pp. 112-115.

¹⁰*Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1919.

¹¹*Umbundu, English-Portuguese Dictionary*, Philadelphia, 1930 (to be continued).

ings and creators, but far away and otiose, not demanding homage or sacrifice. On the contrary the *olosande* (good spirits) and the *olondcle* (bad spirits) are ever present, interfering with the living for good or evil, demanding sacrifice, and affecting their relatives by close daily contacts.

Examination of the divination basket of a medicine-man (*ocimbanda*) and a record of his auguries show that almost every object is symbolical of the activity of a disembodied spirit. For example sickness is said to be due to the spirit of a man who died on a journey, or the spirit of a deceased pregnant woman is mentioned as a disturbing influence. Almost invariably the explanation centers in one of the *olosande* or the *olondcle*.

If a boy of neurotic temperament visits an *ocimbanda* the contents of the divination basket are shaken, and the probable diagnosis is, that a spirit who used to be *ocimbanda* wishes the patient to become a medicine-man. Medicine-men are specialized, thus *ocimbanda opulia* is the medicine-man of the rain, and others devote themselves entirely to the study of herbs and their therapeutic uses. A medicine-man has many specific duties, among the most important of which are ceremonial washing of the king or village headman when epidemics of sickness occur, creating new fire under similar circumstances, and splashing the walls of new houses with the blood of sacrificed animals when a new village is built.

The old type of poison ordeal is forbidden by European law, but poison is administered to chickens supplied by two suspects, and he whose chicken dies is regarded as guilty. Another surviving test is the preparation of two potatoes, one poisoned, the other innocuous. The two suspects take these from the medicine-man, saying, "If I am guilty this potato will be poison for me, but if I am not guilty, this potato will be food for me." The poison is of a mild kind which produces internal pains and fear, so leading to a confession.

From among the institutions and beliefs that function as vitalizing forces in tribal life there is a difficulty in selecting some one trait which is preëminent. So far as a kingdom is concerned, government, law, and religion are focussed in the sacred person of the *osoma*. The death of a king is not announced, he "has a cold in the head," but after seven days the demise is publicly stated. By this time the rite of severing the king's head by friction of a rope has been accomplished; then follow the mourning rites, including



Courtesy of Field Museum of Natural History

FINISHED WET POTS WITH INCISED DESIGNS
GRAVE WITH COFFIN POLE AND BASKETS

Ovimbundu, Angola

wrapping the body in ox-hide, and preservation of the head in the same material.

But so far as tribal organization is concerned the village unit is almost as important as the king himself, and within the village the council house *onjango* is a focal point of social life. Here village councils are held under the direction of the *sekulu*, and here each evening all men gather to eat the meals which are brought by their wives. In the *onjango* gather young boys, who sit in enforced silence listening to the conversation of their elders, and so by suggestion and unconscious absorption the juniors acquire definite mental attitudes toward Europeans, toward native law, trade, and social relations within and without the village unit.

If desiring to name some monism, which more than any other belief or institution integrates thought and practice, I would emphasize the relationship between the sacred and the profane, with the medicine-man as an intermediary. No rites, from the obsequies of a king down to the opening of a pit for potter's clay, are able to function without the services of *ocimbanda*. To-day some of the Ovimbundu may smile at the quaint dress and antics of the medicine-man, but for the great majority he is the pivot of social life. And even in the family, where *manu*, the mother's brother functions prominently, *ocimbanda* is the one to kill the sacrificial chicken. He fills the hollow belly of his wooden effigy with a concoction, and with plugged nostrils feigns replies in a falsetto voice, so giving the impression of answers from the image.

The border-line between the sacred and the profane is recognized in various ways. A woman's belt is an ordinary item of clothing, but it may function magically if used in a certain way. A woman who is the mother of girls changes her belt for that of a mother of boys only. Then in future the mother of female children will give birth to boys, and vice versa.

Bows, mats, and staffs, are articles of everyday use until their owners are dead. But if these articles are deposited in the house of bows they become permanently sacred, and the focus of ritual acts.

Cowrie shells were normally a medium of exchange, but if made into a charm by a medicine-man they are worn to induce conception. The flesh of the python is an article of diet, but if the vertebrae of the reptile are removed and threaded to make necklaces, they are regarded as a cure for rheumatism. A piece from a termite hill is

merely earth, but a belated traveler may prolong daylight by placing a portion of this earth in the forked branch of a tree, while saying, "O sun wait for me a little while."

The consolidating effect of magical rites, simple or complex, public or private, is the warp of the social fabric, and through this warp the weft is woven in an intricate pattern. These threads of magical belief and ritual unite the institution of kingship, the organization of village communities, and the operation of law, religious belief, and economic processes of all kinds. In this way the social life becomes an intricate plexus which has well withstood the disintegrating impact of European culture.

SPINOZISM AND HINDUISM

BY KURT F. LEIDECKER

EVEN the reader of Spinoza's *Ethics* whose acquaintance with Hindu thinking is slight cannot fail to be struck by the number of parallels between the principal tenets of both. The Latin of the *Ethica* is also similar to the Sanskrit in the philosophical portions of the Vedic writings. The directness of both languages is no less amazing than the sincerity and frankness with which the deepest thoughts are expressed.

Hindu philosophy had reached a height of insight when the beginnings of western philosophy were, to all appearance, still lost in speculations about the physical world. But the precocity of India was followed by a long period of slumber, as it were, which continues almost down to the present. The schools that in later years engaged in hot disputes all seem to be below the level which had been attained long ago, while the principles set forth in Vedic times stand unshaken in their Himalayan solitude. In the West there has been a continuous effort to build up idealistic systems, to keep them intact and buttress them. The strong critical tendency characteristic of the western attitude threatened to tear down the noblest structures, the highest ideas, whereas in India debates were meant only for raising the highest to yet loftier peaks. Eternal truths one left untouched in their original formulation with a piety known only to Orientals.

The short, archaic phrases and definitions of the Upanishads and cognate literature, which we here make the basis of our comparison, are still the living heritage of India, and the forms which their highest speculations assumed are even now, after so many centuries, considered adequate and concise. They may be looked upon as Propositions reduced to the lowest terms for mnemonic purposes and, thus, in more than one way suggest a comparison with Spinoza's geometrical treatment of philosophy.

Any explanation of the parallelism on the basis of a direct connection between the cabalistic tradition in Hebraism, to whose influence Spinoza was doubtless very receptive, with an Oriental complex of philosophic ideas to which India may have contributed, must be more than precarious. The historic continuity is lacking, and there are other elements that tend to frustrate any such attempt.

The possibility of such a transmission, of course, remains. But from another angle the parallelism appears in a most interesting light as being grounded in the nature of thought itself. If philosophy is the endeavor to describe adequately reality and has, as such, any objective value at all, identical points of view must lead to identical results in the formulation of their findings. Time has nothing to do with truth, if there is any absolute truth, while language is but an accident and does not influence substantially the meaning it wishes to convey. With such an interpretation we shall find it not difficult to compare the Spinozistic philosophical ideas and ideals with their Indian prototypes.

God is the ultimate for Spinoza, *brahman* that for the Hindus. Both are substances, in Spinoza's sense. Prop. 7, Part I reads: "Existence belongs to the nature of substance." God, thus, exists from all eternity, being the principle of all that is. The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad says: "Truly, this world was *brahman* in the beginning" (1. 4. 10). This is not to be understood as implying that it became something different later. "In the beginning" means in principle. In other words, *brahman* exists as world-ground from all eternity. At one time, Spinoza made use of the Scholastic term *causa essendi*, implying that God is the cause and existence of all things (Cor. to Prop. 24, Pt. I). This states excellently the Indian position.

Substance is infinite (Prop. 8, Pt. I), and from its nature follows an infinity of things in infinite modes (Prop. 16). The attributes of God, like everything that expresses the infinite substance, are infinite. Man knows of the infinite attributes of God only these two: extension and thought. God being all in Spinoza as well as in the Brahmanical philosophy we would expect in the latter similar indications as to the nature of this world. Indeed, one of the commonest attributes of *brahman* is that it is endless, *ananta*, that is, limitless, infinite. The negation of all spacial limitation, as we meet it in Maitri Up. 6. 17, can mean nothing else but mathematical infinitude. In the Śvetāśvatara Up. 5. 13 the highest reality is characterized as *anādhyānantam*, without beginning and without end. When Gautama Āruṇi went to Jaibali to receive instruction in the highest metaphysical knowledge and the latter was not immediately disposed to give it to him, he says: "It is well known that I have a full share of gold, of cows and horses, of female slaves, of rugs, of apparel. Be not ungenerous toward me, Sir, in regard

to that which is the abundant, the infinite, the unlimited" (Bṛh. Up. 6. 2. 7, in Hume's translation). In other words, knowledge concerning the topic of the *Ethica* was sought, and if the ensuing discussion is somewhat shrouded and runs along different lines, we must make due allowance for the ritualistic background of the Upanishads. The important thing to note is that *brahman* was conceived by these early Hindus much in the same way as Spinoza conceived his substance.

The infinity of attributes may be latent in another passage of the same Upanishad where *brahman* is spoken of as "tens and thousands, many and endless" (2. 5. 19). At any rate, space and knowledge share with *brahman* the quality of *ananta*. Space, *ākāśa*, is endless in Chāndogya Up. 1. 9. 2. The "great Being," which is just a mass of intelligence (*vijñānaghana*), is infinite and limitless in Bṛh. 2. 4. 12. Yājñavalkya, to whom the statement is ascribed, also regarded mind (*manas*) as infinite (ib. 3. 1. 9).

What appears as well substantiated thought in Spinoza's system we meet in the Upanishads as simple postulates. But as certain as deep reflection must have preceded the almost aphoristic Upanishadic sentences, so certain it is that the finest insights in Spinoza's immortal book were not won by deduction from the axioms and definitions.

Practically every other characteristic of Spinoza's substance may be paralleled by references to the Upanishads. The 27th Proposition asserts that God is constrained by nothing; he, therefore, is independent in the fullest sense, an idea expressed in Sanskrit by many words, but especially by *svatantra*, which conveys complete self-reliance, a term apparently much liked by the Maitri Upanishad. Eternity, infinitude as to time, or the absence of a when, before, and after (Schol. 2 to Prop. 33, Pt. I) is particularly predicated in the 19th Proposition of God and his attributes, and it is also one of the frequent adjectives in Hindu metaphysics. The words are *nitya* and *sanātana*, both in application to *brahman*. Cause and effect do not reach God, he is not and never has been implicated in this relation, having existed from all eternity unproduced, or unborn (*aja*), as the Upanishads have it.

An echo of the eternal verity as which Spinoza designates the existence as well as the essence of substance (Schol. 2 to Prop. 8 and Cor.'s 1 and 2 to Prop. 20, Pt. 1) may be seen in that both, being and truth, are predicated of or identified with *brahman*. That

intense desire on the part of Spinoza to make God the most perfect being which makes itself felt throughout the *Ethics*, is also seen in every line of the Upanishads which deny every quality that may be met in ordinary experience to *brahman*: it is *neti, neti*, not this, not that, so it may not be confused with anything in the perceptual world. *Brahman* must be left in its grandeur and sublimity. And, likewise, Spinoza does not want to abandon himself to anything less consummate. There is no need for him to describe God as beyond good and evil. It follows from the utter transcendency of all that appertains to him directly, and the same position is held by the Indian speculators. Good and evil are human notions formed after a comparison of things with one another (see *Ethica*, preface to Pt. 4). The parallel Indian view in these matters has often enough been commented upon and need not be reiterated here.

It would not concur with the facts if we interpreted Spinoza's God as being pure mind. We would limit him thus decidedly. Nevertheless, he is the ultimate cause, the efficient cause of the existence as well as essence of all things (Pt. I, Prop. 25 etc.). In addition, he is thinking being, while, according to the most important seventh Proposition of the second Part, his power to think is equal to his virtual power to act. There is a double aspect which is also apparent in later Hindu speculation, where the highest being "shines forth" in and through the whole manifestation. The process of creation itself is always described cautiously as a "shining forth" (*prakāśa*). This neutral term is chosen to indicate the subtleness of the development which has both, an apparently logical and an apparently physical aspect which mingle in the significant concept *māyā*. To this also there are parallels in Spinoza. For the moment we call attention only to the circumstance that the Western view differs markedly from the Hindu one if some sort of a dualism is read into it which Spinoza, however, never intended.

The whole creation is God's pleasure, and none of the motives ascribed to God by theology can be predicated of him in the creation of the world. This is a typically Eastern view which, in Spinoza, reaches beyond the Hebraic idea of the absolute power of a despot to that so generally held at all times in India, of Śiva's dance which conveys the utter inconceivability of any ultimate design in creation. Man cannot fathom the purpose of the whole, and Spinoza does not hesitate to stigmatize all final causes as nothing more than human fictions. No thinker ever was fiercer in criticizing an-

thropomorphic tendencies. A seeming exception is the *deus sive natura*, which is the perfect parallel to the Hindu use of the masculine pronoun *sa* for the neuter demonstrative *tat* in application to the ultimate reality. On both sides we look more in the direction of tolerance than of compromise for an explanation. The pure "It," like the forbidding substance, is less satisfying and puts greater obstacles in the way of a mystical realization, which neither the Hindus nor Spinoza rebuked, but rather invited, tacitly.

God, like *brahman*, is one, *eka*, without a second, *advaita*. In a number of ways this is also given expression to throughout the *Ethics*. The problem, however, is how can this One become the many, how can the *eka* be this world-all, *sarvam idam*, or how are the attributes related to the one and only substance. Here Spinoza's answer varies somewhat from that of the Hindus. Spinoza lodges the entire responsibility for the many in God himself from whose omnipotence and infinite nature there follows, according to the 16th Proposition of the first Part, an infinity of things in infinite modes, while the infinity of attributes is, for him, contained already in the definition of God as the absolute being. The Hindu has always inclined to the belief that the One is reality, the many appearance; but again, Eastern and Western thought approach each other, for if *brahman* is everything, the appearance or *māyā* must be bound up inextricably with *brahman* also—not that he too were *māyā*, but that the *māyā* is his *māyā*.

The metaphysical speculation of the Hindus turns around the two poles of *brahman* and *ātman*, the human soul or self as the writ small of *brahman*. Spinoza comes very close to such a conception in the second and the two last parts of the *Ethics*. When the Upanishads are in search of what is abiding, eternal, they teach to find it in the *ātman*, which is identical with *brahman*. The soul, in Spinoza's system, is eternal also, in so far as it is in essence identical with God, and not in so far as it is the soul of a body having a certain duration. That is made plain in the Hindu view likewise where, in order to convey the subtlety of *ātman*, the pupil is made to realize that neither the body nor what we would call the "me," can be the *ātman* that is eternal and may be regarded as connatural with *brahman* (cf., e.g., Chānd. Up. 8. 7 ff.).

Many are the adjectives applied to *ātman*, and we need not be surprised at finding them also in various places of the *Ethics*, inasmuch as a fundamental conception in a metaphysical system in-

evitably admits conclusions with respect to its other characteristics. So, that the soul is not destroyed along with the body at death (Prop. 23, Pt. V), which is paralleled by the Sanskrit *akṣara*, meaning imperishable, in application to *ātman*. The essence of *ātman* is knowledge, realization, *vidyā*, *jñāna*, and thus is identical with *brahman* by this intrinsic relationship. Similarly Spinoza says in the Corollary to the 11th Proposition (Pt. II), that the human soul is part of the infinite intelligence of God. Man conceives through God, and in conceiving and perceiving conceives and perceives nothing but God again. Moreover, inasfar as man so perceives and conceives he has an adequate knowledge of God. The same holds good of *ātman* and *brahman* which is said to be *sarvam idam*, the whole world, as well as *adhyātman*, that is, Emerson's Oversoul.

The three kinds of knowledge distinguished by Spinoza in the second Part of the *Ethics* we find also in the Upanishads. Opinion or imagination, representing the first kind of knowledge, is wholly inadequate. The term applied to such knowledge is *man*, which means to opine and which is never used when the object involved is the higher reality. As to the second kind of knowledge mediated by reason, it is related to that of the third kind, intuition. They are adequate, and *vidyā* and *jñāna* are likewise fully satisfactory with respect to *brahman* in any of its forms. The peculiar quality of uncertainty, doubt, hesitation, and wavering is typical of opinion. Real knowledge is positive and certain: as Spinoza says, certainty is not a mere privation or absence of doubt. Truth is self-evident and precludes all doubt. "As the light makes manifest both itself and the darkness, so does truth reveal both itself and that which is false" (Schol. to 43rd Prop.). With equal depth and assurance the Upanishadic *ya evain vedā*, "he who knows this," rings into our ears. Truth is not an extrinsic correspondence between an idea and a thing: it is identical with itself.

But aside from these characteristics of knowledge there are others which are exhibited with striking similarity by the Eastern and Western thinkers. How often do we read in the Upanishads of crossing the fearful stream of knowledge, or successfully reaching the other shore which lies beyond darkness, or surmounting sorrow! Spinoza, too, tells us how truth, as true knowledge, dispels the fear of error and uncertainty. Knowledge is a good, while knowledge of God is the supreme good, according to Proposition 28 of Part IV. And a little farther down we read analogously to

the Hindu desire for *brahma-vidyā*, knowledge of *brahman*, that the highest happiness of those who practice virtue is to know God (Demon. to Prop. 36). The *brahma*-knower is definitely beyond evil in virtue of insight, and so Spinoza's ideal thinker has attained the good in the *mentis vita* in which nothing of evil may befall him. His understanding protects him sufficiently and insures him acquiescence and contentment of mind, just as the Hindu sage enjoys *ānanda*, highest bliss and happiness.

Spinoza does not know the concept *māyā* as such which has so frequently been interpreted as deception, delusion, and fraud, but which is in reality appearance or what we, philosophically speaking, designate as phenomenon. The idea, however, is latent in the first kind of knowledge just alluded to, as well as in what Spinoza calls the passion of the soul which produces confused ideas. *Māyā*, like the passions, produces sorrow and suffering and thus makes liberation, *mokṣa*, highly desirable. Having gone that far, the Hindus and Spinoza have to go one more step. They have to find means and ways, not to salvation as such, which would be a religious problem, but to peace of mind. It is obvious what Spinoza demands: reducing the number of inadequate ideas, or, what is equivalent to it, lessening the frequency of our passions and increasing true knowledge. In India practically the identical solutions have been found and recommended for many centuries.

The Hindu sees *kāma*, desire, at the root of sorrow and suffering. In Spinoza's terminology it is pain, grief, and melancholy. Desire, so our philosopher explains in the 57th Proposition (Pt. III), is itself the very essence of passion. And here we perceive a slight difference between the thinkers we are comparing, which resolves, however, into a fine discrimination on the part of each of them. Desire is able to cause both, good and evil. As long as it is guided by reason, it is productive of good. This is paralleled by the insistence in the Upanishads on restraint of the activity of the sensory apparatus. What Spinoza calls ambition has its prototype in *ahaṅkāra*, literally the I-maker, of the Vedic literature. In his definition, Spinoza restricts ambition to immoderate desire of glory, while the Hindus view the whole of individual existence as under the aspect of a self-limiting process. But why is melancholy and sorrow evil? Because they inhibit action, and the power of the body is lessened and restrained (Demon. to Prop. 42, Pt. 4).

And thus we come to the goal of all philosophy which lies in

attaining happiness, *ānanda*. At the close of the second Part Spinoza admits that his doctrine confers entire peace of mind. Joy, *laetitia*, is the object, and in attaining it we attain happiness at the same time. Spinoza does not mean merely the affections of the body, as laughing and the like, but the deeper joys of a spiritual life which increase our power to act. The good is the action, joyous doing. Gayety and cheerfulness (*hilaritas*) are always good, and there may never be an excess of either. In fact, "the more joyfully we feel, the higher is the state of perfection to which we pass,—in other words, the more do we necessarily participate in the Divine nature" (Schol. 2, Prop. 45, Pt. 4). There is no need of adducing examples from Hindu literature to illustrate that the whole of Indian philosophy is permeated by the desire to reach the state of boundless bliss. What links Spinoza so closely to this eastern thought is that he, more fearlessly than other philosophers, insisted that speculation cannot be the end of philosophy, but that it is happiness which communicates itself from the mind to the whole of the personality. What is especially significant is that Spinoza's, as the Hindu's, *ānanda* depends on knowledge in the sense in which it has been explained above. This is brought out especially in the 27th Proposition to Part V. And as the Hindus define the highest reality, *brahman*, in terms of bliss, so Spinoza says that beatitude is not the reward of virtue, but is virtue itself. Happiness needs no justification, and it needs no sacrifice. That action and a positive adjustment to life constitute the source and end of happiness, is also the theme of the Bhagavad Gītā which among the religious books of India is most popular.

It is the philosopher in whom the life of the spirit comes to adequate expression. Spinoza has left us a brief sketch in the *Ethics* which might be taken as a sort of autobiography. In pointing to some of the characteristics of his ideal philosopher it is hardly necessary to parallel them one by one by those predicated of the *saṁnyāsin*, the Indian wise man. The one perfectly reflects the other. Spinozism teaches to hate no-one, to despise no-one, to ridicule no-one, to be angry with no-one, to envy no-one (end of Pt. II), in one word to preserve the Stoical calmness. Pity, partiality, and superstition are not marks of the wise man, but a life of reason and thought and action in accordance with one's own nature, *svābhāva*, in Sanskrit (cf. *ib.* and Schol. to Prop.'s 18 and 35 of Pt. IV). The following sentence by Spinoza is the key that unlocks the un-

derstanding to the ancient ideal, be it Eastern or Western, of the wise man: "There is no single thing in nature more useful to man than the man who lives according to the dictates of reason" (Cor. 1 to Prop. 35, Pt. IV). The old prejudice of the impracticality of philosophy is thus dispelled. Contentment, peace of mind, contemplativeness, action, reason and, above all, balance throughout (for which see Prop. 39 of Pt. IV) have a tangible effect not only on the individual possessed of these, but on society as well.

It is important that Spinoza interpreted the attitude of the wise man also religiously as piety (see Schol. to Prop. 37, Pt. 4) which corresponds with the Indian conception of *bhakti*, devotion, inculcated especially by the Bhagavad Gītā. The dictum, to live virtue rather than to expunge evil (see end of Pt. IV), is at once Oriental and modern. The man of reason, Spinoza says, should live in society. This might be considered quite antagonistic to the Eastern ideal; only seemingly so, perhaps, for the wise man of the Upanishadic age, though he may be leaving his family and repairing to the forest, is seen going from place to place, teaching and taking part in philosophical discussions.

The Upanishads are emphatic in drawing a distinction between knowledge, *vidyā*, and ignorance, *avidyā*, the latter leading to disastrous consequences; the Stoics divided mankind in wise men and fools; Spinoza, likewise, stresses more than once that the wise greatly excel the ignorant. And thus, while there are a few points on which Spinoza disagrees with the Eastern thinkers, it is in the fundamental conceptions that he agrees with them. The fact that Spinoza, by race, belonged to an Oriental people accounts for many similarities in the temperamental and intellectual disposition. But what is of far greater practical significance is, that there are conceptions which are above time and place and circumstance, and that they are voiced with undaunted and autochthonic vigor in Orient and Occident alike, at different stages of the history of mankind and in various tongues.

A MYSTERIOUS CULT

BY PAUL SIMPSON McELROY

I HAD long heard about the extraordinary observances of the religious orders of Mohammedans, known as the dervishes, but their practices seemed so impossible that I doubted their genuineness. It was not until I had spent three years in Egypt that I was privileged to see one of their incredible performances.

Through the courtesy of a Moslem friend, the staff of the American University at Cairo was invited to attend one of the regular meetings of the Rifa'iya order of dervishes; it was during Ramadan—the Mohammedan Lent—near the night known as Al-Kadr when the angels are believed to descend to fix the fates for the coming year that we went to visit this oriental prayer meeting.

We met in the home of a venerable sheikh (not the movie type) who lived in a crowded native quarter of Old Cairo. There we were ushered into a large, high-ceilinged room, noticeably void of decorations. When seated the guests were served with delicious cinnamon tea with floating nuts or with that universal beverage of the Near East—Turkish coffee. The room was, indeed, a scene of contrasts: oriental and occidental, old and young, uneducated and highly cultured, stiff-bosomed gentlemen and flowing robed pashas, and brown and white skinned—all were mingled; the harsh, nasal, chattering English phrases were in striking dissonance to the smooth, deep, guttural Arabic.

Ere long we heard voices approaching, chanting to the beat of tom-toms and cymbals; presently, a leery-eyed, emaciated group of twenty-one fellahin filed into the room. Without awaiting formalities they advanced to the center of the large reception room and stood in a large circle around their leader; shoes were removed for the ground on which they stood was holy ground.

Instead of wearing the customary black turbans and the green and black mantles which characterize this fraternity of dervishes, they came in ordinary working clothes. Apparently, membership in the order does not necessarily depend upon the leading of an ascetic life, for the men were of the laboring rather than the leisure class. Most of them looked undernourished and dissipated, but in spite of their unhealthy appearance, their dreamy eyes were aglow with a mystic radiance and once their turbans were removed and

their long, straggly hair allowed to fall down on their shoulders, they presented a most saintly appearance.

Accompanied by an improvised orchestra of a shrill reed flute, a thumping tom-tom, tinkling tambourines, and metallic cymbals, the dervishes began their *sikr* or religious exercises. First, they recited in unison the ninety-nine names of God, then followed various canticles in praise of Allah—the Compassionate, the Merciful, the All Powerful. At a certain signal, the tune was suddenly changed and the chorus, led by the sheikh, began reciting the *tariq*, which is the succession of sheikhs from Ahmed el Rifai, the founder in 1182 A.D. until the present day.

After this was over the group squatted on the floor as only orientals can squat, arranging themselves in an oval formation according to seniority; the oldest sitting next to the sheikh or leader.

With arms reverently folded the slow, rhythmic chants began again. First the heads began to nod slowly from left to right with each beat, then as the tempo was increased the bodies gradually began to sway faster from side to side until they were bobbing back and forth in dizzy cadence. Abruptly the music and swaying stopped. Although the group had apparently worked themselves into a frenzy they were sufficiently composed to be reverent while the incantations and several more prayers were recited.

As soon as the cacophony subsided, the dazed group rose to their feet and mingled freely with one another. A lamp chimney was produced and broken in the hollow of one of the brass cymbals. All of the dervishes scrambled to get a piece of the shattered glass and began eating it eagerly. That this was no illusion was proved by the fact that these mesmerized dervishes sat on the floor in front of us visitors, let us examine the glass and even put the broken bits into their mouths. They would sit in front of us, crunch the glass between their teeth until it was powdered; then swallow the pulverized glass and show us the open mouth emptied afterward. The glass had not even cut their mouths.

I thought that perhaps the chimney had been made of some especially prepared glass, but on a later occasion a chimney was used which was brought by an American staff member expressly for this purpose.

As soon as all glass had been consumed, the group reassembled in their oval formation, offered a few more incantations and sat in their places while one of the men began the famous fire-eating stunt.

He first dipped each of his four torches into benzine, then lighted them all and flourished them about with the grace of a fancy dancer. Leaning backward he put one of the lighted torches in his mouth and quenched the flame by closing his mouth. This he repeated with three of the torches; with the fourth he kept his mouth open so that the flames ignited the benzine that was lining his mouth and throat. Removing the fourth torch still lighted, he proceeded to blow fire from his mouth; so deep did this go that it seemed as though his very vitals were aflame.

One spectacular stunt, now common among fakirs and magicians in this country, was to pierce the body with needles. The dervishes doubtless originated this sensational practice. It is an anguishing sight to see a man with needles and skewers stuck through his arms, his cheeks, his eyelids, his shoulders, and even through his tongue. We were allowed to jab these needles through their bodies and strangely enough when they were withdrawn only a hole was left which rapidly closed up.

For those who could not participate in this, candy that had been sprinkled with benzine was lighted and eaten.

What seemed to me the most fascinating and amazing feat was the one which followed. The leader took a pair of heavy sabers which had been heated to a dull red glow on a charcoal brazier and began passing them across his tongue. A sizzling, sputtering sound was made at each contact until the irons had become too cool to do it. Yet after all this mutilation, the man's tongue was not even blistered.

Even this was not the end of their repertoire. Unless one has tasted the green, a succulent desert cactus, he can not appreciate its gall-like bitterness. I barely touched my tongue to a piece of the cactus and its acrid taste stayed with me for several hours. Try as I might, I could not get rid of it, yet the dervishes chewed it with apparent delight and relish.

The climax of the evening came when the leader whose face was alight with ecstasy called for three swords. Stripped to the waist to show that he wore no protecting armor, he placed the scimitars on top of each other with the middle blade pointing outward. Grabbing them by the ends he hoisted them above his head and while thus suspended, prayed fervently; he then flung them against his abdomen with a terrific thrust. The flesh was so curled around the

blades that the swords could be extricated only by pulling them off lengthwise.

The blow alone was strong enough to have "knocked a man out," and yet these sharp swords had not even cut the flesh. Only a flushed streak across his waist line indicated where the swords had struck.

Before I had witnessed a performance I had viewed these stunts as just bits of marvellous oriental magic, but now I am convinced that they are genuine feats and not faked.

Were it a mere trick they would doubtless try and capitalize on it by going on the stage. But this they refuse to do because the acts to them are part of their religious ceremony and to commercialize them would be a sacrilege. Ever since the days of Sheikh Ahmed-el-Rifai, dervishes throughout the entire Near East have been seeking a mystic union with the divinity in this way. These are holy and long-established exercises that have been recognized for centuries.

They serve no political or social purpose whatever, but are strictly disciplinary and devotional. The mysteries are revealed to others only through oral instruction and solely by the leader. Only after the power has been granted by the leader in this way can one do these exotic and mystifying accomplishments.

Just what spiritual values or how these spiritual values are obtained in these mystic orders is puzzling. According to some, the repetition of names somehow incites the Presence of the Deity, and His Presence in turn produces ecstasy and through that ecstasy comes the coveted illumination and union. The sign of ecstasy among the Rifaiya order is manifested in the ability to eat fire and glass and afflict the body without harm or injury. We from the West have much to learn from these oriental customs which we, through ignorance, have so long ridiculed; we are indebted to these modest leaders of occult science.

The dervishes dispersed as informally as they had entered singing in receding mournful rhythmic monotone that oft-quoted passage from the Koran:

La Illaha ill Allah. . . .

"There is but one God, and Mohammed is the prophet of God."

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CURSING

BY BERNARD E. MELAND

CURSING, like many another ostracized practice of the present day, once served a legitimate social function. With the passing of a vivid supernaturalism, however, the potency of the curse vanished. Without that potency, the curse was no longer effective as an instrument of social control and consequently degenerated into a social outcast. At one time it commanded the awe of assembled multitudes, accompanied wedding feasts, the season's sowing, hunting, fishing, and all high functions of human society; but today, the curse wanders the streets of cities and towns, lurking among *comrades-in-harm*, intoning the uncensored enthusiasms of prairie base-ball games and college dormitories—only a vestige of its bygone self.

To relate the story of the curse fully would require observing the cultural evolutions of every land, for what people have not been given to cursing? Like the blessing, the curse found its way into the social customs of every level of civilization from primitive to modern man. Perhaps no custom has persisted more successfully through these changing stages of social evolution than the curse. A glance at its development will help to understand why.

I. CURSING AMONG PRIMITIVES

Our study is an adventure, for to find the thread roots of the practice of cursing we shall have to grope our way back into the bewitching wonder-world of the primitive—the land of thrill and terror. His was a hard, treacherous world: thunderstorms with their deafening blasts and crackling streaks of fire; the dark, threatening, funnel clouds of tornadoes; roaring winds; rushing waters; hungry beasts in deep, dense forests! These were the headlines of the primitive man's work-a-day world. And he had to live amid them, for they were the normal happenings within his immediate environment. Yet, not all was terror: The thrill of the dawn! The sun! The captured prey! These warmed his spirit and strengthened his eagerness to fight on and to conquer the terrors. But always he was facing tension; and tension will find release in excited movements. Consequently his life was hiding, peering, jumping, running, shouting, struggling! Sometimes death! But often victory. Then it was leaping, dancing, shouting for joy! What we need to see here is

that primitive man was extremely sensitive to his surroundings: consequently, whenever he came into contact with that environment he was forced into emotional outbursts. Right here is how and where cursing began.

The Australian savage returned from a successful hunt, only to find his quarters ravaged, his wife and children murdered. In frenzy and grief he clenched his fists and exploded with sounds that were meant to threaten whoever brought him this tragedy. It may have been sheer emotional outburst, but it gave release, and relief, to the wronged primitive.

Now carrying these same outer conditions into the social environment of the group where tragedies such as we have related occur and recur, we may imagine such outbursts taking place simultaneously with a fatal happening in the enemy's camp toward which the outburst had been directed. An epidemic of disease may have set in, or the chief might have died of appendicitis. Immediately the outburst of cursing became correlated with the doom of the ones accursed. This was especially true in a conflict between warring tribes, when cursing and disaster were most likely to occur simultaneously. Inevitably the two were believed to be related, and the sensitive savage mind caught the significance.

This marks an interesting transition, for once the curse became recognized as an instrument of power, it passed into a new period of development. We, of course, would be "sophisticating" primitive man too much if we imagined that he sat down to philosophize about how the curse might have this objective effect. His response was simply *mana!* Living amidst so uncanny and threatening an environment, primitive folk were constantly made aware of the "mysterium tremendum" about them. And always this potency—incarnated in the objects of nature: the moving clouds, the wind, the rain, the waterfall, the beast—seemed to be directing itself against man. It was power that at once roused him to fear, yet thrilled him! They were danger! They were *mana!*

Similarly, certain men within the group disclosed this supernatural power. Mingling together in tribal association, individuals manifested varying degrees of impressiveness. Certain ones *commanded* or *aroused* attention. In some way they impressed themselves upon the group's consciousness. To the primitive man the experience of personality was *mana!* Every man came to have some

degree of that potency: leaders more than followers, parents more than children, and so on.

In the primitive man's experience, this mana-power was thought to be transmissible. By a thought or a word one was able to project his wish. Frazer writes:

Among the aborigines of Australia, the rudest savages, as to whom we possess accurate information, magic is universally practiced. . . . Roughly speaking, all men in Australia are magicians. . . . Everybody fancies he can influence his fellows or the course of events by sympathetic magic.

So established was this belief in the power of projected mana that cases were known where men, when they learned that they were cursed, died of sheer fright.

II. CURSING IN ITS ORGANIZED STAGE

Once the objective power of the curse became recognized, the next step of utilization followed. The curse then passed from a mere outburst of emotion in its organized stage where both the individual and the group appropriated it as a weapon against enemies. Primitive man made ready use of the curse for avenging wrongs imposed upon him. Associated with this use of the curse was the belief that the property of a person was, in effect, the person himself. Consequently, to abuse his property, or an image of his likeness, was to impose the curse effectively upon the person himself. Here the curse assumed a ritualistic form. In addition to projecting the potency by way of thought or word, the physical experience of abuse was pantomimed. The Maori, for example, may call any object by the name of his enemy, and then proceed to abuse it. In so doing, he believes, he effects the curse upon that enemy. A Malay charm runs as follows:

Take parings of nails, hair, eyebrows, spittle, etc., of your intended victim, enough to represent every part of his person and then make them up into his likeness with wax from a deserted bees' comb. Scorch the figure slowly by holding it over a lamp every night for seven nights, and say: "It is not wax that I am scorching, it is the liver, heart, and spleen of So-and-So that I scorch." After the seventh time burn the figure, and your victim will die.¹

Sometimes the curse involved an elaborate ceremony such as the Malay charm just quoted, but frequently it was more direct. The Evil Eye illustrates this form. Tremearne has recorded a rather

¹Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Third Edition, I, p. 57.

late development of this tendency among the Hausa Colonies.² The Hausa Colonies, he says, have an elaborate collection of charms and devices for breaking the curse of an ill-wisher. The great causes of fear to the Hausa in Tunis are the Evil Eye (*mugun ido*) and the Evil Mouth (*mugun baki*). Each of these is regarded as an occult force residing in an evil wisher. He relates the following story:

Khadejia. . . was one of the priestesses of the Gidan Yara (House of the Young Spirits), and as she had had a bad attack of fever—for which I was giving her quinine—she had not been out for several days. She had a gold fish (of which she was very fond) in a glass bowl upon a chest of drawers. One afternoon, one of the other priestesses, Araba, came to call, and said, "Why do you not come up to the temple, do you expect everyone to come down to you?"

This was all that passed, for I saw them meet and part, apparently good friends. But it was quite enough. When I came the next day, the gold-fish was dead, and that was a clear case of *mugun baki*.³

Any number of charms against evil-wishing are obtainable in Tunis: a string of cowries around the arm wards off the evil eye, for the glance is thought to be lost amongst the shells. A piece of string (generally double) tied around the wrist or ankle is believed to be a charm against pain. Henna is regarded as a powerful preventative against evil: likewise paint on the face. Tremearne records the following formula for counteracting an evil-wish:

If you know that you have been affected by an evil-wisher, take a piece of the root of the jiga tree, pound it up, and then mix with water, knead into a lump and eat it.

Another excellent method is to touch the naked body, especially that of a child, with a red-hot iron. Numerous other formulas are given by Tremearne.⁴

The individual use of the curse soon incurred the taboo of the group, for as social organization perfected its control in the group, it tended to regard all such uncontrolled practices as possible dangers to group life, and consequently as anti-social. The positive basis for discountenancing the private use of the curse, however, centered in the development of social morality. As the group came to locate justice objectively in its gods, the effectiveness of the curse likewise came to be dependent upon the verdict of just gods. That is to say,

²A. J. N. Tremearne, *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*.

³*Ibid.* p. 173ff.

⁴Tremearne, *The Ban of the Bori*, Chapter XIII.

the power of the curse, instead of residing, as a magical automaton, in the spoken curse, capable of effecting its own folly, now became a current of thought directed toward the gods, persuading them to effect harm toward the enemy.

But at this point the social conscience interfered to save the gods from conspiring with evil-wishers. Social justice reversed the boomerang and made the curser accursed. Consequently when the code of social morality was written, the curser became an offender of group morality, and was, in turn, subjected to the curse ceremony of society. The condemning of sorcery and witchcraft illustrate this development.

III. THE CURSE AS A BLESSING

Society made ready use of the curse. The notion that one was able to project a certain helpful or harmful potency by cursing stimulated interest in formulating cursing ceremonies for specified occasions. Strange to say, in earlier societies the curse ceremony served a beneficent function. It was regarded as extremely useful to the farmer as a means of compelling rain to come. In the Shalpur district of the Punjab, Frazer reports that it is customary in time of draught to spill a pot of filth on the threshold of a notorious old shrew, in order that the fluent streams of foul language in which she vents her feelings may accelerate the lingering rain.⁵ In Dubrajpur, a village in the Birbhum district of Bengal, when rain has been looked for in vain, people will throw dirt or filth on the houses of their neighbors, who, in turn, will abuse them for doing so.

Cursing was also thought to be essential to the growing of crops. When a Greek farmer sowed cummin, he had to curse and swear, or the crop would not turn out well.⁶ A similar custom was observed by Roman farmers when sowing rue and basil.⁷ And hedge doctors in ancient Greece prescribed the rule that when one cut black hellebore, he should face eastward and curse.⁸ At Lindus, Frazer writes, it was customary to sacrifice one or two plough oxen to Hercules "with curses and imprecations." This custom had good mythological explanation. The legend is told that Hercules one day seized the oxen of a ploughman and roasted it for his own delicious use. The owner, unable to defend his beast, stood afar off and "vented his

⁵Frazer, *Golden Bough I*, p. 278.

⁶Frazer, *op. cit.* III, p. 281.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸*Ibid.*

anger in a torrent of abuse and execration." Hercules received the cursing with a roar of laughter, and thereupon appointed him his priest and commanded him always to sacrifice with the very same execrations for "he had never dined better in his life."⁹

The curse was used ceremonially for other occasional purposes, such as hunting, fishing, and even in formal ceremonies such as marriage. Here the curse was believed to have been an effective means of bestowing good luck. Frazer tells of the custom in the Indian district of Behar:

People who accompany a marriage procession to the bride's house are often foully abused by the women of the bride's family in the belief that this contributes to the good fortune of the newly married pair.

Numerous other incidents might be cited to illustrate how widespread the curse served as a blessing.¹⁰

IV. THE CURSE AS A DEFENSE TECHNIQUE

At ceremonies preceding a battle among primitive groups, a spear was pointed toward the enemy while a curse was sung. In this manner the curse was projected against the expectant foe. As the warriors went out to battle, the women-folk carried on a long distant attack by continually cursing the enemy.

An interesting account of a similar technique is recorded in Hebrew history: When Israel was fighting with Amalek in Rephidim, Moses stood upon the top of the hill with the rod of God in his hand. When Moses held up his hands, Israel prevailed; and when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed.¹¹ The technique worked so effectively, the story tells us, that they seated Moses upon a stone and had Aaron and Hur stand by, one on each side of him, to hold up his hands. They continued in that posture "until the going down of the sun. . . . And Joshua discomfited Amalek and his people with the edge of the sword."¹²

These incidents represent the *organized control* of this projected mana. The early curses had the "savage heartiness"¹³—the emotional force or outburst was the projection of the mana. In that case, the

⁹*Ibid.* pp. 281-82.

¹⁰*Ibid.* pp. 278ff.

¹¹*Exodus* 17:11.

¹²*Exodus* 17:12-13.

¹³Grimm, *Tcut. Myth.* IV, 1690.

mere expression of the curse or wish carried the potency and the effect. When it became ceremonialized, however, the *form* was everything.¹⁴ Hence the importance of holding up Moses' hands.

V. THE CURSE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL CONTROL

The group appropriated the curse most readily and completely as a means of penalizing and thus controlling its offenders. This development came about very naturally. We noted above how primitive man recognized the mana power in his fellow associates—how in varying degrees, different persons impressed him with the power of their personality. The relation of the curse-power to the status of the curser is significant in the development of the curse as a social control, for it was through the overhead organization of the group that cursing became formalized into an effective technique. Among primitive folk, group status increased mana power; hence the tribe leaders were more effective and more dangerous cursers than the average group member. Likewise, on the basis of status, the elders' curses were more efficacious than the youth's. Among the Tongans, if the one cursed is superior to the one who curses, the curse has no effect.¹⁵ Among the Hebrews, "Honor thy father and thy mother that thy days may be long" had a very practical significance, for to evoke the parental curse might have meant fatal consequences.

The *blessing* of the father likewise imparted the highest potency. The familiar story of Isaac blessing Jacob instead of Esau illustrates this custom among the Hebrews. It is to be noted that the blessing was automatic and irrevocable. Once it had been bestowed it could not be recalled. This belief has been current among other tribes and peoples as well. A legend is told regarding the origin of the Hausa states that closely resembles the biblical story:

Bawo (from Bornu), after having killed the snake which prevented the people drinking, had married Umma (or Daura) the queen of the city of Daura, and had had a son, (called Kachi in one version, Bawo in another) by her, and other children by a concubine, namely Kano, Daure, and Yabuwu. When they had grown up, Bawo summoned them to bless them, and he told Kachi to come in the evening, intending to give him the "bottle of dyeing" (i.e., the magic flask containing the charm of blessing which would make him supreme in that handicraft). But Kano, who was hiding, heard this, and came first, and said "Here I am Father." So Bawo, who was blind, took the bottle of dyeing, and gave it to him, and that is

¹⁴*E.R.E.* art. by E. Crawley.

¹⁵Mariner, *Tonga Islands*, ii.238.

the reason why Kano dyes are so much better than those of any other city. Then Kachi arrived and said to his father, "Here I am," and Bawo said, "What! was it not you to whom I gave the bottle? Kano has already been here," and he gave him (not being able to recall the bottle of dyeing) fire in order that he might set alight to the bush, his country to extend over all the space which the fire burnt, and all this became Katsina.¹⁶

The Scots have a proverb: "A faither's blessin bigs the toun: a mither's curse can ding it down."¹⁷ In Greece, Plato says that "the curses of parents are as they ought to be, mighty against their children as no others are."¹⁸ The Koreans hold that the curses and disgrace in this life and the hottest in hell are penalties of the disobedient child.

The official power of public cursing fell to certain appointed authorities, who by virtue of their position, were supposedly endowed with more mana. Thus, among the Bororos, the blessing of maize, game, and fish was believed most effective when made by the medicine man.¹⁹ Shel'a in Arabia had priestly kings who were the "Blessers" at all public functions. Their blessings provided for a proper regulation of the weather, abundance of fruits, etc.²⁰

Interesting accounts are given illustrating the use of the curse as an instrument of social control. For example:

A Sema village curses a man by calling out his name before the assembly of the villagers, and then they all spit in unison. This constitutes an effective curse.²¹

The Angami Nagas have a special service which is called the Commination service on the day of penna.

This service is held to curse some unfortunate who has given offence. The Kemova gets up before the assembled clan, all the children being present, and announces that So-and-So has done such and such a deed, whereon the people answer, "Sa! Sa! Let him die! Let him die!" This curse is believed to be a powerful one, and to strengthen it further a branch of green leaves is put up to represent the person cursed and everyone hurls spears of wood or bamboo at the bough with such expressions as Let him die—Kill so-and-so, and every

¹⁶A.J.N. Tremearne, *op. cit.* pp. 140-41.

¹⁷Grimm, iv. 1690.

¹⁸Laces ix. 881 (copied from *E.R.E.*).

¹⁹Frazer, *Golden Bough* VIII, 71.

²⁰Frazer, *op. cit.* III, 125.

²¹J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas*, p. 216.

sort of abuse. The spears are left where they lie, the bough withers and the subject of the curse dies likewise.²²

This performance is also held to be effective even when the name of the culprit is unknown. Hutton indicates that he has known it resorted to "in a case where a man of Cheswezuma was thought to have died as a result of poison administered by someone unknown. So too a ceremony of this sort, sometimes spoken of as the Cat Gen-na, is observed among Chakrima."²³

Public cursing was a recognized ceremony among the Hebrews. As may be observed in the biblical record, complete provisions were made by Moses for the public cursing of offenders:

And Moses charged the people. . . . saying, These shall stand upon Mount Gerizim to bless the people, when ye are passed over the Jordan: Simeon, and Levi, and Juda, and Issachar, and Joseph, and Benjamin. And these shall stand upon Mount Ebal for the curse: Reuben, Gad, and Asher, and Zebulun, Dan, and Naphtali. And the Levites shall answer, "Cursed be the man,"²⁴

and there follows a list of a dozen curses.

In the hands of the state official, cursing became an effective instrument of the state for controlling the populace. Gradually it was taken over by law and became the form of retribution. Likewise, in the hands of the priest, cursing came to be an effective instrument of the church for controlling its people, viz, excommunication and papal bulls.

The oath is a direct development of the conditional curse. Each of the bargaining parties invoked upon himself a curse that should befall him if he failed to carry out his part of the transaction. The law court soon found it useful for compelling criminals and witnesses to "tell the truth and nothing but the truth." Originally the power of the self-invoked curse was sufficient in and of itself to produce the penalizing effect. But when cursing lost its charm, the law had to reinforce the so-help-me-God ritual with a penalty for perjury. The mysterious mana potency of the curse is gone; yet the form remains, and it, in turn becomes significant.

²²*Ibid.*

²³*Ibid.*

MEDICINE IN CHINA, OLD AND NEW*

BY EDWARD H. HUME, M.D.

THE EVOLUTION OF MEDICINE IN CHINA

IT IS commonly believed that Chinese medicine began to take formal shape at least twenty-seven hundred years before Christ. As in every other early civilization, religion and astrology, superstition and witchcraft, were curiously merged with the profession of healing. Priests and sorcerers dominated it. This is well illustrated in the Chinese ideograph for medicine which consists of a quiver and a spear surmounting a symbol representing a witch and a wizard. With the passage of time, the witch symbol was replaced by the symbol for a jar of wine, indicating the introduction of alcoholic decoctions into the pharmacopocia. It is entirely probable that a study of other Chinese characters will throw further light on the evolution of the indigenous system of medicine.

Conscious of this admixture of witchcraft and sorcery with the art of healing, the thoughtful in China have never been willing to commit their relatives to the care of those who were likely to be untrained and superstitious. Thus it arose that the family became, and still remains, the final arbiter as to the appropriateness of the diagnosis and treatment indicated by the physician. For many centuries, the intellectuals of China have read the really classical medical works as they have read classical literature, history, philosophy, and poetry. They have been better informed as to the classical medical authorities than the average physician whom they might summon. I have often been subjected to such questioning by the family court as would astonish and repel the average American physician. After examining a patient and giving my verdict, with an outline of the procedure proposed, I have seen the family court sit in conference to decide whether or not to accept the suggestions offered. More than this, following the custom of centuries, I have seen the family send for one consultant after another, finally deciding for itself between the diagnoses suggested and the treatment outlined. No family in old China ever put the patient under the care of a single physician, but always reserved to itself the final decision as to action in the patient's behalf.

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The development of Chinese medicine has been sketched for us with great illumination by Dr. C. M. Wang of Hangchow. He divides its history into four periods, and for convenience I shall follow his outline.

THE ANCIENT PERIOD (DOWN TO 1000 B.C.)

Much that is said of this era is legendary, as we have no dependable records. Three names, however, are held in the highest regard. The ancient period may be said to have begun with the Emperor Shen Nung who reigned about 2737 B.C. He is universally known as the originator of the Chinese materia medica. Every one knows that "Shen Nung daily tasted a hundred herbs." Naturally, he is called "the father of medicine." Following him reigned Hwang Ti who, in association with one of his ministers, is said to have written the famous "Classic of Internal Medicine." Upon this classic is built up most of the medical literature of China and it still stands as the universally accepted medical authority throughout the land. A French translation has been made by Dabry. The third member of that early distinguished trio was I Yin, an able prime minister who lived about 1800 B.C., and who is credited with being the originator of medicinal decoctions.

THE CLASSICAL PERIOD (1000 B.C. TO ABOUT A.D. 1000)

During this era, literature and art, philosophy and government, religion and medicine, reached a very high degree of development. Confucius and Mencius, Laotze and Moti, lived at this time. Unfortunately, philosophic reflection and subtle debate characterized the period rather than experimental progress. In this period there arose, also, the two doctrines which form the basis of Chinese medicine. The first is the doctrine of the two primary principles, Yang and Yin. From these two principles everything in nature is supposed to arise. They represent, in antithesis, the male and the female element, heaven and earth, day and night, heat and cold, life and death, the sun and the moon, strength and weakness, positive and negative, and other contrasting forces. We still know far too little of that dim distance when, in widely separated areas of Asia, philosophic reflection gave rise to so many related ideas.

The second doctrine is that of the five elements in nature, namely, metal, wood, water, fire, and earth. The human body is described as made up of these elements in harmonious proportions, health re-

maintaining while the proportions are normally adjusted, and disease following if the balance is disturbed. Corresponding with these five elements are the five major organs: spleen, liver, heart, lungs, and kidneys. These elements and organs are related, furthermore, in a complex scheme, to the five planets, the five colors, the five tastes, the five climates, etc.

During the earlier part of this classical era, probably about 250 B.C., there lived a famous practitioner, Pien Chiao. He is said to have been the first to use narcotic drugs, administering them in wine. This made it possible for him to undertake certain surgical operations. No higher honor can be paid a physician in China today than to call him a living Pien Chiao.

During this period, lasting about two thousand years, certain medical procedures came into common use, the two most important being massage and acupuncture. While massage was practiced in China from the earliest days, it was not till about 600 A.D. that it gained recognition as a definite department of medical science. A special chair, under a special professor, was then established in the imperial medical school. The publications of the Jesuit Fathers brought it to the attention of Europe towards the close of the sixteenth century. No one who has lived in a Chinese city will fail to recognize the familiar sound of the gong struck by the blind masseur who roams the streets at night, hoping to be called in to administer the treatment in which he is so adept. Acupuncture is also an ancient Chinese practice. It extended early to Japan, was brought from there to Europe by a Dutch surgeon at the end of the seventeenth century and was particularly valued in France during the early part of the nineteenth century. There is a copper model of the human body in the Imperial Academy of Medicine in Peking, pierced with 367 holes at the points where acupuncture may be performed. Paper is pasted over the figure and the student of acupuncture is required to practice needling so as to acquire accuracy in striking the spots where treatment may be safely given. In nearly every provincial capital as well as in some smaller towns, less formal models of the body are to be found, some pierced with arrows at the points where acupuncture is safe.

Those who have tried to secure cadavers for anatomical teaching in China realize how reverence for the dead has made human dissection practically impossible. Only recently has opposition to anatomical study weakened. It is reported, however, that early in the

Christian era certain criminals were killed and dissected, measurements of the internal organs made, and bamboo sticks inserted into the blood vessels to trace their course. Certainly the circulation of the blood was distinctly foreshadowed at least two thousand years before the time of William Harvey. Consider the following passage from the Classic of Internal Medicine:

All the blood is under the jurisdiction of the heart. The twelve blood vessels are deeply hidden between the muscles and cannot be seen. Only those on the outer ankles are visible because there is nothing to cover them in these places. All other blood vessels that are on the surface of the body are veins. The harmful effects of wind and rain enter the system first through the skin, being then conveyed to the capillaries. When these are full, the blood goes to the veins and these in turn empty into the big vessels. The blood current flows continuously in a circle and never stops.

Whatever the achievements of Chinese medicine prior to the second century B.C., its real progress began with the Han dynasty. Dr. Wang well says that its scientific advancement centers in the three figures:

(a) Tsang K'ing who lived about 170 B.C. and left a reputation for his detailed clinical case records, twenty-five of which have been preserved, ten of them the records of fatal cases.

(b) Chang Chung-king who lived about 195 A.D. His eminence as a physician was widely recognized and he even held office for a time as mayor of the city of Changsha. Chang's work on typhoid fever is one of China's great medical classics. The descriptions of the malady are clear, although other diseases than typhoid are evidently included in some of the clinical observations. In this treatise it is noteworthy that only a few potent drugs are recommended, to be used singly, instead of the shot gun prescriptions favored by the ordinary physicians of the day. Chang recommended, also, that typhoid fever be treated by cool baths as an antipyretic measure, thus antedating James Currie by some seventeen hundred years. He recommended the use of enemas rather than cathartics. Chang was the first of a series of clinicians who gave attention to physical signs and symptoms and who carefully recorded the actual results following the administration of drugs. He was not only a keen observer of disease, but an upholder of the dignity and responsibility of the medical profession. No one else in medical history could fairly be

said to deserve the title of the Hippocrates of China.

(c) Hua To, however, was the most famous surgeon in China's history. It is reported that with the use of narcotic potions he was able to perform many operations, ranging from venesection to laparotomy. He is said to have excised the spleen and to have done resections of the intestines and liver.

Aside from the contributions of these three distinguished men, physical diagnosis became established at this time, and included four methods; observation, attentive listening, interrogation, and palpation. The Chinese physician certainly observes with severe scrutiny and can detect many of the signs of disease with singular accuracy. He seldom undresses the patient, so that his observations center about congestion, pallor, tumescence, and pulsation in the head and hands. His auscultation is neither aided by instruments nor performed with the ear against the body. It consists in attentive listening to the patient's groans, grunts, sighs, and ejaculations to which custom has given individuality, so that each has a definite meaning. Interrogation is formal and tends to elicit answers in line with China's traditional medical philosophy, rather than to provide objective information. Of the four methods, the palpation of the pulse is the most studied and most highly regarded diagnostic procedure in China. Quantities of treatises have been written on the pulse, describing the information to be gained from the several points to be palpated on the left wrist and on the right wrist. It is remarkable to watch a Chinese physician feeling the pulse and to observe the keenness with which he interprets his findings. The procedure is a literary ritual, undertaken deliberately and reflectively.

I remember seeing a Chinese physician feel the pulse of a western professor. After careful palpation, he said without hesitation that the patient was thoroughly healthy except for his lungs which appeared to be seriously below par. Singularly enough, the patient had had pleurisy with effusion only a year or two earlier! I have repeatedly seen a Chinese physician feel the pulse of a patient and report unhesitatingly that he was suffering from nephritis. Laboratory examinations confirmed the diagnosis!

Still further features introduced during this classical period were the catheter, formed of the hollow leaves of *allium fistulosum*; vaccination; and organotherapy. Vaccination is described as having been introduced by Prime Minister Wang about 1000 A.D. He inoculated his son with the scab from a patient who had smallpox. He

learned the method from a priest who came from O-mei Shan, the sacred mountain of Western China. Other methods used were to take the wet serum directly from pustules, to use a moistened scab or powdered dry scabs and to wear the garment of an infected person. A long article appears in a medical classic of this period discussing minutely the choice of scabs and the determination of persons suitable to receive inoculation. Methods of inoculation were four, by the needle, by blowing the powdered scab into the nostril, by inserting a wet scab into the nostril, and by wearing an infected garment.

THE CONTROVERSIAL PERIOD (11TH AND 17TH CENTURIES)

During this epoch there appeared a great number and variety of monographs on particular diseases. This was particularly true during the Sung dynasty which lasted three centuries and came to an end about 1280 A.D. Among the original works we find monographs on the following: on Beri-Beri; on the Care of the Aged, an early treatise on the care and feeding of old people; on Women's Diseases, a textbook in 24 volumes; on Obstetrics, the earliest monograph on this subject in China; on Pathology, a textbook in 18 volumes entitled "Three Courses of Diseases"; on The Fontanelle, an anonymous work in 2 volumes; on Carbuncle, together with a nine-volume publication entitled "Royal Infirmary Model Essays," which is in fact a collection of examination papers. In addition to these monographs, an Imperial Cyclopaedia of Medicine was published during the Sung dynasty, compiled under orders of the Emperor by a staff of medical men. The work was published in 200 volumes, most of which have unfortunately been lost.

In addition to the inoculation against small pox mentioned above, which was discovered in 1022 A.D., two other features of the Sung dynasty are worthy of note, namely, the establishment of medical schools and the holding of state medical examinations, both of which began in 1068 A.D., under the Emperor Shen Tsung. It is interesting to reflect that at a period only two years after William the Norman landed in England, when that country was still a long way from the organizing of its formal education, China had made such progress in medical education and examination.

During the Ming dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.), the "Synopsis of Ancient Herbals" was published. This important work was compiled by a district magistrate in Central China, and consists of 52 books.

All known works on materia medica, to the number of 41 were consulted, while references to 360 treatises and 591 other scientific and historical works were freely made. There are 71,096 formulæ given in this work and the substances enumerated include 1892 kinds. These are arranged in sixty great classes under sixteen orders. This treatise is one of the most popular and important books in Chinese medical literature and merits the praise accorded to it by doctors as well as laymen.

Published in 1590, no medical reference book in the western world begins to wield such influence in its field as this work on materia medica does in China. It is more than probable that pharmacological studies, based on suggestions from this and similar Chinese works, will enrich the world's knowledge of potent pharmacals. We find reference in this work, for example, to a plant called Ma-huang, or *ephedra vulgaris*, that grows wild on the hills of North China. The recently extracted alkaloid *ephedrine* occurs in this Chinese plant, which had a place in the pharmacopoeia of that land centuries ago.

Another feature of the Ming dynasty was the appearance of syphilis in China, the source of which has caused much controversy, reminding one of the argument in southern Europe as to whether syphilis came there through French or Italian armies. Most Chinese writers maintain that it was unheard of in China until the middle of the sixteenth century and that it was introduced into Canton by Portuguese from India. "The descriptions of this disease were very accurate and illuminating and in one interesting monograph, written in 1631, the various manifestations and hereditary transmission of syphilis are mentioned in full detail."

THE MODERN PERIOD

The last of the Chinese imperial dynasties, the Manchu, came into power in 1644. By this time, Westerners were already in the land, the Portuguese having reached Canton in 1516, the Spaniards and Dutch a little later and the English in 1622. Undoubtedly many of the foreign commercial groups brought ship's physicians with them; while the Jesuits, who first appeared in Peking in 1581, had not a few scientists in their number, men familiar with aspects of botany and chemistry, as well as with mathematics and astronomy. Some of them received high honor at the court of K'ang Hsi, who

came to the throne in 1662 and reigned for sixty years. Falling seriously ill with malaria in 1698, he sent for his Jesuit friends, who were reputed to have secured a potent bark from Peru, one that was said to be of great value in cases of ague. Much against the wishes of the court officials, the Emperor insisted on taking the bark under the guidance of a Jesuit father. He was completely cured and presented to the religious order a splendid site in the capital, where one of their largest cathedrals now stands. More than this, the Emperor was a patron of the arts throughout his reign, many medical publications being issued with his approval. These were, however, compilations for the most part, rather than original works.

The eighteenth century was one of comparative isolation against the West, but by 1805 an English physician, Dr. Hobson, is reported to have visited Canton, although Dr. Thomas R. Colledge, a physician of the East India Company, was undoubtedly the first to establish a clinic there.

In May 1806 the modern method of vaccination was introduced into China via the Philippines and Macao. It is noteworthy "that a century before Jenner's epoch-making discovery, the Chinese seem to have had an idea of vaccination, for in the Synopsis of Ancient Herbals the use of cow fleas is described as a method of preventing smallpox." It was believed that the fleas of a cow suffering with vaccinia might be used to immunize a human individual. This treatment is said to have become very popular.

By 1844 the first Chinese student, C. H. Wong, was ready to go abroad for the study of Western medicine, travelling to the United States with his schoolmaster, the Rev. Samuel R. Brown. After studying here for four years, he went to Edinburgh and received his medical degree there in 1855. Two years later he returned to China and worked assiduously in hospitals in South China until his death in 1878.

The first Western physician to settle in Canton and to launch a permanent hospital work was Dr. Peter Parker, a graduate of Yale, who reached China about 1835 and is known as the man that "opened China at the point of the lancet." He was the first of a long line of medical missionaries, men with the pioneer spirit that would not be discouraged by the difficulties and obstacles they constantly encountered. The establishment of modern medicine in China is due, in large part, to their ceaseless activity in starting hospitals and dispensaries and in breaking down the almost universal suspicion that

met them wherever they went. The old Chinese systems of medicine have been so deeply entrenched in the popular confidence, that the countless innovations proposed by the foreigner aroused fear and hostility that cost not a few medical lives. Surgery was undoubtedly the most dramatic aid the Western doctor used in getting established; and even today the average Chinese citizen, intellectual or illiterate, will tell you that he has great admiration for the surgical procedures of the foreign doctor, but that when it comes to internal medicine, he believes the Chinese doctor the better able to understand and treat his malady.

With the opening of the twentieth century, great strides began to be made by modern medicine. For one thing, Japan, which had already made German medicine its state model, began to graduate in its Grade B medical schools, numbers of alert young Chinese. Returning to their own country, this Japan-trained group acquired political influence and exerted it, frequently in opposition to the Western-trained physicians, whether Chinese or Westerners. It will take half a century to reconcile the conflicting interests represented in such a situation, for the early group that received its medical training in Japan, was unprepared in basic science, studied superficially while there, and returned with little or no clinical experience after graduation. Even today there are two national medical associations, one founded by those trained in Japan, and the other by those trained either in Europe and America, or under Western doctors who taught them in China.

Berthold Laufer of Chicago has placed us under a great debt by his studies of Chinese medicine and particularly by his monograph entitled "Sino-Iranica," in which he describes the exchanges between ancient Iran and China, of material products such as silk, bamboo, etc., as well as pharmacopoeial articles. The Emperor Wu (140 to 87 B.C.), for instance, greatly desired to possess the fine thoroughbred horses of Iran and sent General Chang Kien on a memorable expedition to Fergana in 126 B.C. to get them. Returning with the splendid animals, which were believed to have been the offspring of a heavenly breed, General Chang, who was a practical man, concluded "that if these much coveted horses were to continue to thrive on Chinese soil, their staple food, alfalfa, had to go along with them." He therefore took from Iran to China the seeds of alfalfa, planted these on wide tracts of land near the imperial palaces and thus introduced an important botanical specimen into the ancient empire. Al-

falfa proved to be not only food for horses but was used in a number of ways in the Chinese pharmacopoeia. From the capital it spread all over the north of China and in recent years has been carried to Russia. Singularly enough, the Chinese word for alfalfa is *mu-su*, taken directly from the Iranic word, probably *muk-suk*. General Chang also brought the grape to China in 128 B.C.

Through the centuries other exchanges have occurred. We know that the peach and apricot originated in China and were carried thence to the West and South. Camphor and cinnamon, cassia and rhubarb, were drugs highly prized in China and regarded in other countries as of better quality if they came from China. In 1562 Garcia da Orta said that the best rhubarb in Persia came from China.

In the Chinese pharmacopoeia we find many others of our familiar medicaments, such as saltpeter and sarsaparilla, calomel and red oxide of mercury. The latter was sent as a tribute to the imperial house each year from a district in the west of Hunan province, where an abundant supply has always been available.

Other drugs that have been prominent in the Chinese pharmacopoeia are asafoetida, which is used for chorea, for syphilis and as a vermifuge; galls, which are used both in ointment form and internally; mustard; castor oil; balsam; nux vomica and many aromatics.

Tea has had many uses in the pharmacopoeia. The pomegranate is an illustration of the way in which ancient China mixed objective facts and symbolism. It is said to have been brought to China from ancient Iran and found its way into the Chinese pharmacopoeia. More than this, however, because of its exuberant seeds, it is regarded as an emblem alluding to numerous progeny. It has become a symbol opposed to race-suicide. Two pomegranates were presented to King Ngan-teh when he was being married. It was explained that the pomegranate enclosed many seeds and implied the wish for many sons and grandsons. The fruit is still a favorite marriage gift.

MODERN MEDICINE IN CHINA TODAY

The noteworthy facts regarding modern medicine in China today are that medical education is well launched, that there is already at work a goodly number of trained physicians, quite an army of nurses and a few public health workers, already leavening the social order.

Through the past decades, every Western physician who conducted hospital work in China gave informal training to such men

as he could gather about him. It was these medical missionaries who laid the foundation of modern medical education in China. Gradually, formal teaching was introduced.

By 1915 several modern schools were under way. The Chinese group included a National Medical School in Peking, a provincial school in Soochow, one in Hangchow, one in Canton and certain others. The medical missionary schools included the Peking Union College formed by a federation of medical missionary teaching units: the St. Johns Medical School in Shanghai; the Medical School of Shantrng Christian University in Tsinan; the Medical School of Nanking University; and the West China Medical School in Chengtu. Two cooperative schools were also under way, including the Hunan-Yale Medical College in Changsha, and the Kung-Yee Medical School in Canton.

Soon after 1915 the institution in Peking was taken over by the Rockefeller Foundation which built a magnificent medical school and hospital plant in the national capital, preserving the old name of Peking Union Medical College. Formally opened on September 15, 1921, this institution represents the highest ideals of medical education and practice and serves as a center where Chinese students may go to receive the best possible training for the profession and where physicians of any nationality, practicing in China, may go from time to time to renew their strength.

The day of western leadership in medicine in China has well-nigh passed by. Westerners are needed, however, to cooperate with the Chinese in clinical work, in medical teaching, in research, in nursing education and in public-health work. The field of opportunity is boundless. China offers a tremendously attractive opportunity for men and women of science who desire to search, to practice, and to prevent, in the field of medicine.

DR. BERTHOLD LAUFER

American scholarship has suffered a great loss in the death of Dr. Berthold Laufer on September 15. His writings on his many researches in the fields of anthropology, ethnology, and Oriental archaeology and literature are a legacy of permanent value. We can now but regret his many planned but still unwritten works. In honoring his memory, however, we wish to emphasize not only his eminence as a scholar but also as a man—modest, kindly, and gentle, and a true friend.

THE YOUTH OF VACCINATION DRIVING OUT
THE DEMON SMALLPOX

The Japanese colorprint by Katsugawa Shuntei which is reproduced on page 249 is from the collection of the Field Museum, Chicago. It is of great interest because there are practically no medical pictures in Chinese art, although many medical books in China contain woodcuts portraying surface characteristics of pathological phenomena which are, however, of no artistic merit. In Japan there seem to be a few exceptions of which this print is one.

The devil on the right of the picture, designated by the explanatory label as "really the devil, the spirit of smallpox," is escaping from the young genius, "the youth of vaccination, Holland being the land of his origin," who is riding on a cow's back and chasing him with a long spear. Here is a new deity, conceived of shortly before 1850, of foreign origin, yet represented in a Japanese style—as one of those joyful, muscular lads who bestow bliss on mankind and who are often found in the retinue of the Buddhist or Taoist gods. The smallpox devil is a typical Japanese *oni*, "only covered with a fur apron and gaiters, of red skin-color, with claws on hands and feet." Here is a beautiful illustration of an old and honored traditional type used to express a new and imported idea.

The inscription by Sosai Setto, spread over the upper part of the picture, relates that formerly "only inoculation was known; that it commenced in China under the Emperor Jen-Tsung (1023-63) of the Sung dynasty and consisted chiefly of administering the virus into the nostrils; that of the various methods of vaccination the latest and best was discovered in Holland by Edward Jenner, 1804-17. This error is due to the fact that the only knowledge of Europe at that time was derived from contact with the Dutch East India Company.) After a brief description of Jenner's discovery by transferring cowpox to a baby's arm, whereupon all the people of Holland were operated upon, and the new method was then introduced into China where it was compared with the old methods. When the physicians and people of China found that there was no better way than the new method of vaccination, they had all reasons for it expounded in a book which was distributed throughout China and then sent to Japan. Afterwards all nations adopted this method, and the old fashions were abolished."

Further details concerning the introduction of vaccination into the Far East can be found in the article on this subject by Dr. Laufer in the September issue of the *Open Court*, 1911.

BOOK REVIEWS

Twilight in the Forbidden City. By Reginald F. Johnston, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., Hon. LL.D., Professor of Chinese in the University of London; last British Commissioner of Weihaiwei; Tutor to His Majesty the Emperor Hsüan-T'ung. With a Preface by the Emperor. (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd. 1934. Pp. 486. 18/= net.)

Sir Reginald F. Johnston is the best qualified non-Chinese to record the "twilight" period of the Manchu court at Peking, from the abdication on February 12, 1912, to the summary ejection by military force on November 5, 1924. If the account contained in this first authoritative published history of the Hsüan-T'ung emperor's final years in the Forbidden City is to be questioned, it must be by documentary material hitherto not revealed.

A carefully prepared and illustrated record of the young Manchu emperor's sixteen years in the imperial palace court at Peking is preceded by several chapters of historical and descriptive material relating to the decade prior to the infant emperor's enthronement. The book, therefore, deals with the Kuang-Hsü emperor's last ten years, 1898-1908, thus covering the hundred days of reform and their aftermath, as well as the dénouement after the death of China's famous "Venerable Buddha," the old empress dowager, in 1908.

The important part of the book, however, begins with the author's appointment as English tutor to the then thirteen-year-old emperor in 1919 and concludes with the abrupt destruction of the Forbidden City court in 1924. Informative and confidential matter of subsequent years is briefly treated in an epilogue which reports the young emperor's return to the Manchurian home of his forefathers in November, 1931. Sir Reginald was not only tutor to the emperor, but also his companion and loyal friend; indeed, it is perhaps not too much to say that this Scot graduate of Oxford was the most useful friend the young emperor had. His circle of intimates was extremely limited, but it included several Chinese of advanced years, such as the senior tutor Ch'en Pao-shen and the poet Ch'eng Hsiao-hsü, both of whom had refused to accept appointment under the republican régime. These two men are today (1934) with the young emperor in Manchuria, and Ch'eng Hsiao-hsü is not only prime minister there but connected by marriage to the emperor's own family; for Ch'eng's grandson married a sister of the Manchu emperor.

Sir Reginald's book contains few errors of fact, despite its panoramic record of confused political events during a period of thirty-odd years. Interesting points usually unfamiliar to western readers are explained. For instance, prior to the abdication pact of 1912, China was officially called *Ta Ch'ing Kuo* (great Manchu empire); and thus Manchuria (known as *Manchou-kuo* in the first half of the seventeenth century) was merely the original part of the Manchu empire. Furthermore, the young emperor was determined, as early as June, 1922, when only sixteen and unmarried, to renounce his imperial title, court, and pension; but this wish he was unable to carry out before his abrupt expulsion by a temporary military régime at Peking. Incidentally, the author mentions that the plundering of the Manchu imperial tombs, north-east of Peking, in July, 1928, finally convinced the young emperor, then in exile, that the republican authorities no longer cared what had happened to the terms of the abdication pact or to the imperial family. In September, 1930, the emperor told Sir Reginald he hoped in another year to end his humiliating years of exile; and a year later he in fact proceeded to Manchuria to head a provisional régime there, later transformed into an imperial one.

Not the least interesting document produced in this book is a preface written by the young emperor a few days before he left Tientsin for Man-

churia. In it the former emperor of all China duly records his immense gratitude to his English tutor and companion. "No one," he declares, "has a more intimate knowledge than he of the disasters and hardships of that critical period... this true record of his, based on personal experience and observation, will indeed be a thing of value." The young emperor hopefully concludes: "When this book appears I know it will be highly prized by the world."

An American edition has been brought out for \$5 by D. Appleton-Century, New York.

JOHN GILBERT REID.

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF CHINA.

The Chinese Renaissance. By Hu Shih. The Haskell Lectures 1933. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press, 1934. Pp. xi 110.

Contemporary China has been synonymous with civil war and social chaos, yet social constructive cultural, and intellectual developments of great significance are taking place there which greatly resemble the European Renaissance. Perhaps at this distant date we may tend to overlook the wars, political struggles, and bitter controversies of that age, to remember only the beauties, the works of art, the poetry and prose, and the great intellectual growth which we owe to that period of liberation. So, the choice of title for this book is significant. Perhaps the distant future may look back on the present in China as an age of liberation from the past, from a long-established traditional pedantry as tyrannical as any the world has known.

Dr. Hu Shih is professor at the National Peking University and is also a graduate of an American University. He is thus equally at home in two widely separated cultures, his own and the Occidental and is qualified to give an intelligent and well-informed estimate, sympathetic yet critical, of the cultural trends in modern China.

The first chapters give a brief but comprehensive account of the historical background of the conflict of Chinese culture with western civilization with special emphasis on the difference between the situation in Japan and China and the reasons for this difference. The movement which is called the Chinese Renaissance began in 1917 and still continues. In the domain of language and literature which this book describes most fully, the parallel with the European Renaissance is most striking. The language of the Chinese Classics seems to have been for a long time as dead as Latin in sixteenth-century Europe, and yet it dominated Chinese literature, while the vernacular was looked down on with contempt. The rise of the vernacular, the living, spoken, everyday language of the people from a despised position to becoming an honored literary medium of expression is fundamentally the most significant part of the movement. This tendency of a language which has attained the position of "classic" to hang on long after it is "dead" and to dominate living generations seems to be universal.

In the face of chaos and trouble in China today, Dr. Hu is an optimist and sees the present disintegration as the necessary preparation for future readjustment. "The product of this rebirth," he writes, "looks suspiciously occidental. But, scratch its surface and you will find that the stuff of which it is made is essentially the Chinese bedrock which much weathering and corrosion have only made stand out more clearly—the humanistic and rationalistic China resurrected by the touch of the scientific and democratic civilization of the new world."



BOOK NOTES

ARABIAN MUSIC BY LAURA WILLIAMS

This pamphlet (reprinted from the *Open Court*, April 1934) describes the fundamentals of Arabian music, how it differs from occidental music, with some illustrations of its modes, rhythms, and melodies. Miss Williams, the author, spent three years in Tunisia studying native music and was a student for part of this time with the late Baron d'Erlanger, the greatest authority on Arabian music.

This pamphlet is available for 25c.

A Philosophy for Liberalism. By Bruce W. Brotherston. Boston, The Beacon Press, 1934. Pp. iv 188.

In his analysis of the present crisis, Dr. Brotherston finds that the undermining of conviction, brought about by the application of the methods of pure science, has robbed our life of its meaning and that ours is but a spurious liberalism. This condition he regards as due to lack of an adequate conception of the individual human being in his relation to society. For a solution, he examines the relationship between the individual and the group among primitive peoples. He finds the human spirit a complex system of impulses running parallel to a native tendency toward unity or organic system. With this conception, liberalism becomes no longer a matter of *leaving* the individual free, but of *making* him free by a rightly conceived and instituted social system. "The spirit seeks freedom, but has neglected its pattern of wants." There is much material for thought in this small volume.

The Ovimbundu of Angola. By Wilfrid D. Hamby. Pub. 329. Anthropological Series, vol. xxi, No. 2. Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1934. Pp. 272, 84 Plates.

This volume, with its most interesting illustrations, is the result of Mr. Hamby's research among the Ovimbundu of Angola (The people of the Fog). The object of the study is to analyze the different stratifications of culture found there and to show "the sequence in which they have been received, whence they came, and the processes coordinating them into the present social system."

Le Bouddha. Sa Vie, Sa Doctrine, Sa Communité. By Hermann Oldenberg. Translated from the German by A. Foucher. Fourth French Edition. Paris. Librairie Felix Alcan. 1934. Pp. 436.

Introduction. India and Buddhism. Part I. The Life of Buddha. Part II. The Doctrines of Buddhism. Part III. The Society of Disciples of Buddha.

The Ideals of East and West. By Kenneth Saunders. New York, The Mac-Millan Company. 1934. Pp. xxiv 248.

An account of the systems of ethics of the Indians, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Greeks, the Hebrews, and the Christians, with short anthologies from the Sacred Literatures of each. The passages were chosen to bring out the similarities of ideals and thoughts as well as the differences, the contrasts and conflicting ideas of the various systems.

BOOK NOTES

Deism in Eighteenth Century America. By Herbert M. Morais. New York, Columbia University Press, 1934. Pp. 203.

The rise, progress, and decline of deism in its western phase are here examined by Dr. Morais with a detailed account of organized deism and of its development in Europe as a background to its influence and place in American history.

Kalyāna Kalpataru. A monthly for the propagation of spiritual ideas and love of God. Editor: C. L. Goswami. The Gita Press, Gorakhpur, India.

According to a Hindu custom of invoking the Lord's blessing at the beginning of a literary work, the inaugural number of the English edition of this magazine was a special God-Number. The Sanskrit word *Kalyāna* means the material, moral, and spiritual welfare of mankind; *Kalpataru* is the celestial tree which is believed to have the power of fulfilling one's desires. The circulation of the Hindu *Kalyan*, which was started in 1926, has exceeded 22,000, and we wish the new enterprise a corresponding success. The general appearance of the magazine is good; the color plates often charming. The contributions deal with different phases of religion of all denominations in its relation to the present and its heritage from the past.

Philosophy of Society. Papers read at the Ninth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Philosophical Association, Dec. 28-29, 1933. Edited by Charles A. Hart. Philadelphia. The Dolphin Press, 1934. Pp. xii 203.

The purpose of these papers is to study the more "fundamental aspects of human relations which the social sciences assume." Two introductory papers, outlining the general spirit of the discussion and the Thomistic doctrine, are followed by papers on the philosophies of Capitalism, Communism, Fascism, and Internationalism, and the Social forces (family, education, and religion). The lectures end with the plea that we learn from the past in applying the philosophy of history to the science of government."

Seven Psychologies. By Edna Hejldreder. New York, The Century Company, 1933. Pp. x 450. Price \$2.25.

This book was written with the definite purpose to make clear to the student of psychology some of the different points of view. While the emphasis is on the development of psychology in America European influences are shown. Three chapters of a general introductory character are followed by discussions of Titchener, William James, Functionalism, Behaviorism, Dynamic Psychology, Gestalt Psychology, and the Psychoanalytic Movement. These seven systems have been factors which have actually influenced the development of psychology and should be viewed as "tools by which scientific knowledge is produced." The differences in these systems show the many different approaches to the problems of psychology and when taken together are important in a whole view of the field.

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By IMMANUEL KANT

Translated with an Introduction and Notes by

THEODORE M. GREENE

Associate Professor of Philosophy, Princeton University

and

HOYT H. HUDSON

Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory, Princeton University

Kant's *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone* serves, more than any of his other writings, to round out the philosophical system which he developed in the three *Critiques*. In it Kant examines the nature and significance of the religious experience, devoting special attention to the tenets and practices of Christianity, which he reinterprets with sympathy and originality.

In many respects Kant was a typical eighteenth-century thinker; but he was also a critic of his times. The *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone* is a classic exposition of eighteenth-century deism and humanism at their best, revealing both their elements of strength and their limitations. Today, with deism and humanism widespread in England and America, it is peculiarly appropriate that a translation of Kant's important work should be made available. (No English translation has appeared since Semple's inadequate translation of 1838.) The book not only gives lucid and forceful expression to a significant aspect of the modern temper, but reveals its superficiality on many points and suggests a more profound approach to some of its problems.

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